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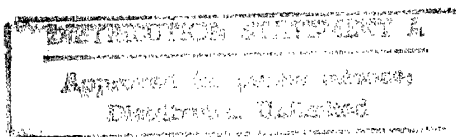
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22 February 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2109



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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## BULGARIA

### TRAIL OF COUNTERFEITED DOLLARS CONTRABAND DESCRIBED

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Ganka Mancheva: "Goods From Italy"]

[Text] "One evening, Djahit Yuksel invited me to the Novhotel Europa. There were only the two of us. I asked him why were there such quarrels in his group. He answered that I had impressed him favorably, for which reason he would tell me the truth... About 1 month ago he and another Turk named Abash, a fellow-countryman from Adpazar, came to Bulgaria with forged dollars. Djahit had visited Italy, and it was there that, through the Mafia, he had gotten in touch with the forger. He ordered and smuggled into Turkey a total of \$400,000 in \$100 denominations. He told me that they were very well made and, in his view, 85 percent of them could pass for real, and only a few had something wrong in the picture of the American President Franklin. With the help of a friend, Djahit Yuksel even checked with a Turkish bank the percentage of forged bills which could be circulated as real..."

This short tale of the long road travelled by the forged dollars from the Italian "money yard" to Bulgaria is part of the testimony of another Turkish witness. The team of investigators was to prove later that \$10,000 of the forged notes had been printed in two series and two numbers: J 93013635 A and G 79450489 A, as though xeroxed, and had been smuggled into Bulgaria originally in March 1981.

Several months later, Djahit Yuksel and Ayhan Obash smuggled into the country another \$95,000 forged dollars in a specially constructed cache in Yuksel's car, in the hope that if this "big hit" was to succeed they would have enough money not only to improve their financial situation but also sufficiently to return to Italy and buy more "goods." They had already established the fact that the machine-painkiller, which printed impeccable "dollars" "would not shy" (in perfect Mafia style -- the author) at producing Bulgarian leva. The printed amount would be based on the size of the payment, naturally in legitimate currency. Let us not kid ourselves -- such are the rules of the game!

Question asked by the investigator to Mekhmed Khyuseinov, the accused: The testimony of Riza Keazimov Yuseinov, dated 28 September 1981, states that you have mentioned in his presence the forging of Bulgarian currency -- 10 and 20-leva notes. Explain!

Defendent Mekhmed Khyuseinov's answer: At the very beginning of the deal with the forged dollars, at the time that Ayhan Obash, whom I call Shisho, gave me 35,000 "dollars" to sell, he mentioned the possibility of bringing other forged notes, regardless of their kind. He thus actually suggested to me to exchange in Bulgaria false Bulgarian currency he was to bring in for real notes.... I am familiar with something even more specific related to this affair with the "goods:" The machine is in Italy and can print all sorts of forged valuables; an order of forged \$100 notes costs 30,000 West German marks; a single machine load will print 30,000 pieces or precisely three million "dollars." Shisho also told me that now the problem was to make 15,000 leva from the sale of the forged dollars that had been smuggled, to pay for a new order. The 15,000 leva were to constitute something like a down payment. He would then return to Bulgaria with one million forged leva, and if necessary (but only if necessary!) would return to Italy to collect the balance. In his view, however, even this amount would have sufficed (one million leva is a lot of money!) to pay off his debts and improve his situation....

Excerpt from the testimony by witness Riza Yuseinov in court: Mekhmed asked me if I knew people who would like to buy dollars. I told him that I knew such foreigners. Two days later we met and he asked me for 15,000 leva... Several days later we met again, and whereas previously he had threatened me with revenge for having tricked him, he now told me to get lost, for the dollars were forged and he had a bagful. He even pushed into my hand a few notes from the roll he showed me and told me that I could live on this amount until we found the foreigners. I, however, got scared and burned the "dollars." Later, he again demanded payment, but I kept avoiding the matter, as I was afraid of him...

This, however, is merely one of the subplots of the bigger story. The main theme is that the "high hopes" of our "guests" crumbled quickly, having nothing in common with the famous Bulgarian hospitality. This side of the matter will be discussed later. For the time being, let us go on with the story which, one way or another, although flying in a variety of geographic and human directions, will lead us to the logical end of any essay on a trial -- no one can escape fate!

"Fate" will no longer be discussed, for in this case we can consider it only through a court sentence: Article 244 of our Penal Code stipulates an 8-year jail term for such offences. However, it would be worth considering the fate of the people gathered together on the basis of Case No 420 for 1982, tried by the Sofia Rayon Court. Let us see how some of our foreign guests found themselves conspirators in a severe currency crime, and why precisely on Bulgarian soil?

Was this accidental? Of course not! This fact alone makes it worth telling the rest of the story involving some of the "partner," 10 of them, to be specific, who became defendants in this case regardless of their different geographic and human itineraries!

This is done in the hope that if we use quotation marks in referring to all of our guests who decide to conduct their criminal affairs on our territory (perhaps not entirely motivated by mercantile passions alone -- the author), tomorrow they may not find the courage to do so. This is also a warning to any one of their eventual followers!

Birds of a feather flock together, the popular saying goes. They are right. We do not know if a similar saying exists in all languages, but it is clear that the Turkish citizens Yuksel and Obash, who have crossed our territory "in transit" (more than once or twice -- the author), coming from the FRG, allegedly "on commercial business," were influenced by this saying, leading them to believe that they could mark their "italian goods" on Bulgarian soil as well. In this case the birds of a feather snesed each other across borders as well as beyond them. If this needs proof, here is part of their biographies:

Djahit Yuksel -- the main initiator of the deal and smuggler -- smuggled into Bulgaria bags of forged dollars; depending on the occasion, he would be introduced to accidentally or not accidentally encountered people as a rich merchant or a millionaire. According to his own deposition, however, he had already become a settled trader, buying nothing but spare parts for cars in the FRG and selling them in Turkey. Naturally, he had nothing to do with the forged "Italian goods," other than the annoyance that they were not being suitably sold, that his already disturbed financial situation turned even worse and that he was forced to run around various establishments in our country (interested in tourism, perhaps? -- the author), in search of those who owed him money. He had indeed had a police record in Turkey but, as Allah is his witness, it was not for such smuggling affairs but for a more "innocent" crime -- carrying a gun without a license.

However, some of his compatriots well remember that he was sentenced to a jail term for peddling forged dollars. This had taken place 3-4 years ago in Izmit, Turkey. The case even found its way in the newspapers....

Never mind that MVR operatives had found the specially made hiding place in his car and a fake stamp. Djahit Yuksel intended to use it in order to expand his activities on an international scale by forging automobile driver licenses which fetch a high price on the Turkish black market. He couldn't help it, business was in his blood!

Ayhan Obash is much younger and unlike Yuksel is the scion of a rich but now totally bankrupt family. "I found myself in a difficult situation -- unemployed, penniless and heavily in debt," he was to admit to the investigators. "That is why when Djahit suggested that I sell his forged dollars I agreed..." The reason for the crime was quite sensible!

Hassan Guzeler, a Turkish citizen also with a jail record in Turkey, expected that Djahit Yuksel, a man "operating on a grand scope and with numerous connections in Turkey and the FRG," would thank him for participating in the deal by arranging for a visa to the FRG and even to help him financially in his future deals, the nature of which is easy to guess when we know the mode used by his patrol in arranging his own.

Mekhmmed Khyuseinov, 31, with a court sentence for gambling, who managed to live in Sofia's expensive Moskva Hotel (?) without working, explained his reasons as follows: "Obash promised me that if I make good sales in forged dollars he would buy me a Western car as a gift. I fell to the temptation. He also threatened me that if I were to renege on the deal my brother, whose address in Turkey they had found out, would be killed or that his wife would be kidnapped."

There was no need to threaten Georgi Georgiev, the final "expert salesman," as he was fond of boasting, twice sentenced for hooliganism and once for rape, or to tempt him with beautiful promises. He was, as it were, "part of the game," and his foreign associates in the "proper" establishments had long known him as someone involved in foreign currency deals.

These are the general lines of the biographies of the defendants. However, even they are insufficient to allow us to penetrate deeper into their lives. These are lives of international idlers, "merchants," smugglers and black marketeers, who scorn any kind of honest toil, any honestly earned money, and even any working person. They know in advance that no "deals" can be struck with such people and that this may even be dangerous. These are lives of people who cross borders not as true and legitimate tourists or simply people in transit who know that they must at all times obey, for moral and legal reasons, not only the laws of their own country but of all countries whose territories they cross.

Their "laws" are different to such an extent that even when they sit down for a cup of coffee or a drink they do not act on the basis of satisfaction alone. With apparent boredom and fatigue they look around them. In other words, they determine the circumstances and deliberately create a screen behind which to do their other "work."

Djahit Yuksel and Ayhan Obash reached independently the conclusion that such deals based on "honor among thieves" are, in fact, "life and death" deals, and even began to formulate precisely such plans aimed against each other.

An almost Mafia tale, the reader will conclude, and he will indeed be right!

However, its characters simply failed to realize that on Bulgarian soil such tales have no circulation. More than 6 million foreigners cross the country every year (some 2 million are Turkish citizens), enjoying its hospitality.

However, even hospitality has its limits, particularly when it turns out that the "guest" not only has come to the country with a not quite clean past, but with dirty intentions as well. The "guests" we mentioned here wore our hospitality out but also got what they deserved: 4-year jail terms for Djahit Yuksel and 3.5 years for Ayhan Obash. Proper sentences were also meted out to their assistants, particularly those among them who had failed to draw the necessary lessons from previous jail terms.

Instead of commenting on what lawyers describe as the "social danger of the action," we shall mention only one fact: A Bulgarian driver for the International Automotive Transportation Economic Trust made a detour on his way to Iran to exchange at the Halk Bankasu one of the six \$100 notes he had received before the start of the trip. The note proved to be forged (it was established later that this was no more than a thousandth part of the 105,000 "dollars" smuggled into Bulgaria, which had found its way to the cash register of the trust). Our driver spent more than 3 months in jail while the case was being tried at the Edirne Severe Crimes Court. And all this for a bank note which he had neither ordered through the Italian Mafia nor carried in an especially made secret place!

Let us conclude with a short retrospective view of this tale. Let us recall that some 5 years ago the Sofia Rayon Court tried the case of the Italian Lorenzo Dore, in whose luggage customs officials at Sofia's airport had found two bags of another "Italian commodity" -- forged petroleum ration coupons worth more than 80,000 leva. Unlike our new "guests," who had to keep quiet as a result of the newly developed situation, Dore honestly admitted during the investigation and the trial that the plates for the Bulgarian coupons had been engraved at the workshop owned by Fernando Arnaldi on 50 A. Brinetti Street, in Rome.

For your information, Lorenzo Dore as well was sentenced and served a term in jail according to our country's laws. But who can assure us that tomorrow or the day after one "workshop" or another of someone, Mafia-related or not, will not begin once again to work against us for more or less money?

Who?

The more so since, as it has become crystal clear, this is not a matter of mere business, goods marketing, easy profit or currency violations, but of a crime committed against our country's monetary-credit and currency system, and of a boomerang thrown across the border with a far-ranging and well concealed target of ideological nature.

This is the right word, for it is a question of eroding in the minds of the people who live and create under an entirely different social system, which is different from the one of "clandestine" printing presses and cheap thrills. So much for now.

5003

CSO: 2200/39



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### SWISS WEEKLY CALLS PIT THE CPCZ'S 'TROJAN HORSE'

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German 5 Jan 83 pp 4, 5

[Text] Prague security agents are taking action not only against opponents of the regime such as intellectuals, journalists and artists but, for some time now, are increasingly taking aim at the Catholic Church.

The archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Franz Koenig--always thoroughly informed about events inside the Catholic Church in Eastern Europe--is worried about his Czech colleague. "Is the fate of Cardinal Trochta also intended for Cardinal Tomasek?" the Vienna KIRCHENZEITUNG wrote recently.

The concern seems by no means exaggerated. Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the 83-year old archbishop of Prague and without doubt the prominent figure in the Catholic clergy of the CSR, is currently under the heaviest psychological and physical pressure. Only recently he experienced something that has probably not happened for years to any Eastern European prince of the church: he was shouted at like an unruly schoolboy by the appropriate government representative. Milan Klusak, Czech minister of culture, invited him to a discussion during which the minister's accusations reached the stage of a shouting orgy.

How long, Vienna wonders, will the aged and physically weak head of the Catholic Church be able to take this kind of treatment? Almost automatically, Tomasek's predecessor comes to mind, Cardinal Stephan Trochta, who died in 1974 of a heart attack after a series of humiliating interrogations.

It is a regrettable fact that Klusak's shouting orgy was no isolated incident. Ever since the Prague communist regime succeeded in bringing most of the civil rights movement "Charta 77" under its control, it considers the Catholic Church again as enemy of the state number one and makes every effort to loosen the ties between the higher Czech clergy and the Vatican. The motto of the government campaign is openly publicized: "The church must once again learn to be afraid."

## Fight Against the New Spring

Already in 1980/81 traditional police harrassements again became a regular church persecution. Arrests, roundups, house searches, beatings and day-long interrogations became part of the daily routine, almost as systematically as during the Stalinist years in the 1950's. There were at least two cases where the "state security" did not even stop at murder: the 49-year old engineer Premysl Coufal, a secret member of the forbidden Jesuit Order, was found dead under mysterious circumstances in his Bratislava apartment. The 20-year old student Pavel Svejda, likewise an activist in the underground church, was found dead one day, his body smashed in the 138 meter deep Macocha Chasm near Brno.

Why the state authorities acted in this crazy manner is hard to imagine. Obviously they were almost hysterically afraid of a religious revival, and they had their reasons.

There is no doubt that there were signs of increasing interest in religion in the CSR. Police informers who stand in front of churches every Sunday reported that there was a surprisingly large number of young people attending mass. Instead of high-spirited parties in far-away mountain chalets there were suddenly Bible meetings or even retreats (which are strictly forbidden in the CSR). Secret printing presses began publishing materials on spiritual guidance.

A prudent government would have recognized in all this the fruits of its own represssive policy, and would have understood that pressure invariably creates counterpressure. Not so the Czech government. It let itself be drawn into overreaction, and that even in two ways. On the one hand, it forced its terror and spy tactics on the Czech clergy, on the other hand it declared war on Rome by beginning to revive by all possible means the half-dormant priest association "pacem in terris".

This "pacem in terris" movement, ridiculed by the people as "Paxterriers", is the successor, created in 1970, of the "peace priests" organization of the former priest and later on high communist party functionary Josef Plujhar which under Dubcek practically dissolved itself. Husak intended to give this organization the role of the Trojan Horse inside the Catholic clergy. Any priest who joins this organization automatically enjoys the favor of state authorities--he will be supported in his career, he may participate in priests conventions and he has fewer problems all-around. In return, it is expected that he listens more to Prague than Rome and tries to win over his faithful parishioners to the social goals of the party.

For a full decade state authorities on the whole were satisfied with lip service and pro-government gestures by PIT priests. But now they demanded more, i.e., actions. Reliable sources report, e.g., that Church Office Director Karel Hruza (translated: "the terror") approached Bishop Vrana of Olomouc and asked him if he would dare to consecrate new bishops without approval from Rome. Vrana--formerly head of "Pacem in terris" and usually glad to cooperate with the government--had to say no to this suggestion, regretfully. This after all was asking for too much!

As said above, state authorities overreacted. But the Vatican overreacted too. It accepted the challenge and returned it vigorously--probably too vigorously.

In the beginning of March--just at the time when Cardinal Tomasek and the Czech bishops were in Rome for the so-called "ad limina" visits--the Vatican published a decree which prohibits for members of clergy participation in any priests associations "which directly or indirectly, openly or hidden pursue political goals." From the European point of view this order at first made a rather harmless impression--everybody automatically thought of South America. In an interview with the newspaper REPUBLICA, however, the Roman Cardinal Oddi made it unmistakably clear that the decree was directed primarily against "pacem in terris."

The result: a difficult, one could almost say dramatic, tug of war for the church organization in the CSR. Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek stands in the center of a war on two fronts whose outcome is uncertain. There is even a threat of a split within the clergy.

#### Irate Reception In Prague

At Tomasek's return from Rome the coming storm was already announced. At Prague airport an emissary of Hruza was waiting who expressed the displeasure of his boss and suggested that the cardinal simply disregard the aminos decree. It can be assumed that Tomasek would indeed have liked to do this. But what could he do? As a loyal follower of the pope he had no choice but to pass the document on to his clergy. And in doing this he practically set fire to the roof of his archbishop's palace on Hradshin Hill. Now he is facing not only the wrath of the government but in addition resistance from his own ranks.

According to reliable estimates, every third priest among the approximately 3,000 members of the CSR clergy belonged to "pacem in terris" in the spring of 1982. This amounts to approximately 1,000 people, and they are by no means the least desirable priests. Bishop Vrana is in no way the only one who in critical matters of conscience unconditionally chose to side with the Vatican. Other "paxterriers", too, never thought of committing treasons. Rather, they joined PIT because they believed, and are still believing that they could serve the church better by having a basis of discussion with the government. The fact that all newly nominated bishops had to be not only members but even had to be high functionaries of PIT (otherwise they would not have been accepted at all by the state) makes the situation especially precarious. Even Tomasek himself was once a member of the "peace movement."

Rumors report how the decree was accepted by those to whom it was addressed. The 75-year old Vrana, it is told, obediently resigned his PIT membership. Bishop Josef Feranec (Banska Bystrica), Bishop Jan Pásztor (Nitra) and Capitular Vicar Onderko (Kosice) on the other hand are reported to be hesitating for the time being.

#### Protection From Rome For PIT Priests

It is certain, however, that state authorities want to take the greatest possible advantage of the internal unrest in the church. In the church newsletter KATOLICKE NOVINY [Catholic News] the Czech and Slovak Church Secretariats announced that they are determined to protect every PIT priest from Rome. Vice Prime Minister Matej Lukan made known in addition that Prague would resume the long overdue negotiations with the Vatican only if "the question of the priests association is settled according to the government's wishes", i.e., after the decree has been officially withdrawn.

An insider somberly predicts that "the result of this bitter struggle will be a deep change in the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia."

8889

CSO: 2300/114

'RUDE INSULTS' TO VIETNAMESE WORKERS CONDEMNED

AU271156 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 26 Jan 83 p 3

[Letter from reader Karel Kellner from Prague-Vysocany: "My Vietnamese Brothers"]

[Text] Because I feel the need to share my feelings with someone, I have decided to write to you. I am a partly disabled person, recipient of a disability pension, and have been alone for quite some time. During my long stay in the hospital last year, the chief physician asked me if I did not mind if some Vietnamese citizens who live and work here in Czechoslovakia shared my room. I agreed and have never regretted my decision. The friendship that has been formed between myself and the Vietnamese is so firm that they address me as their older brother. The very young ones among them say that I am like their father, although I am only 39 years old. Their families know about me and always send their regards to me in their letters. In the course of 1 year, I have acquired a decent knowledge of the Vietnamese language so that I can write letters and, during our walks through Prague, act as interpreter for my brothers and personal friends from that far-away country.

However, sometimes my joy is dimmed by a few individuals who rudely insult us. Once, two drunkards even physically attacked us. They were from the same factory in which my Vietnamese friends work--Son, Hoi, Vinh, Thanh, Tien, Nghe and others, who have earned my sympathy by their kind, good nature, modesty, industry and the will to learn something in our country. All members of my large family, who live all over the republic, agree with me. My Vietnamese friends have already visited all my brothers and relatives. It never even occurred to anyone of them to make them feel in any way that they have, for example, a different skin color. Comrades Synanovic and Barton from the Vysocany incinerator treat them in the same, friendly manner. Like myself, they invited the Vietnamese home to spend Christmas with them. I had as many as eight visitors and it was my most beautiful Christmas in a long time! I received many small gifts and letters from my friends, also from those in many parts of our homeland with whom I correspond. I exchange letters with as many as 103 Vietnamese friends and do so in their own language. I would like to assure everyone that our friendship is firm, above all, because we share the same conviction and desire for peace and a happy future.

CSO: 2400/140

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

NEW EDITOR FOR 'KORTARS'--Gyorgy Szarasz, former editor-in-chief of ELET es IRODALOM, has been appointed editor-in-chief of KORTARS, the literary periodical of the Hungarian Writers Federation. The publication will not begin reflecting his policies for at least another month. [Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 28 Jan 83 p 7]

CSO: 2500/123

BYDGOSZCZ PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Executive Board on Daily Matters

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 19-20-21 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Z. J.]

[Text] The subject of the deliberations were three important problems: work in the party teaching organizations, the state of the fall-winter haulages and transportation's preparations for winter, and the current stage of implementation of residential construction.

From the materials presented to the executive board, it appears that out of a planned 4,173 dwellings, during a period of 10 months this year a total of 2,681 were released for occupancy, which constitutes scarcely 63 percent. Of the enterprises in the Voivodship Construction Administration, only the Grudziadz Construction Enterprise fulfilled its 10-months' tasks 100 percent. But the Farm Construction Enterprise fulfilled only 15 percent of the plan. The Bydgoszcz Industrial Construction Enterprise also fulfilled 100 percent of its tasks, and POMORZE Enterprise only completed 5 percent. Unfortunately, it is anticipated that the annual plans will be implemented scarcely 88 percent. This will extend the waiting time for those waiting for housing, particularly in Bydgoszcz, which is most in arrears and the number of people waiting for housing is largest. So-called allied facilities were also implemented in very low percentages--only 6 percent, and by the end of the year it is expected that 45 percent of the plan will be fulfilled.

Local plan investments were implemented 61 percent, and by the end of the year it is anticipated that 78 percent will be executed. The builders explain this backlog as being mainly caused by shortages of finishing materials (glaze, terra-cotta, polyvinyl chloride tiles, paints and lacquers) and also lack of full employment and shortcomings in the coordination of the activities of the particular enterprises and investors. Only partially accepting these explanations, the Voivodship Committee (KW) executive board obliged the Voivodship Office to prepare a program for implementing residential and allied construction, which would also account for the work of the enterprises and persons responsible for accomplishing the plan and would establish a time schedule for making up the arrears.

Bydgoszcz has become a very important academic center. In 1964 there were scarcely 202 resident students here and 1,236 taking extension courses. Now there are over 9,000 students, of whom 1,700 are in residence. Twelve years ago two professors worked here, and 27 assistant professors--now there are 19 professors and 79 assistant professors. Most of them are in the Technical Agricultural Academy, followed by the Higher Pedagogical School. The fewest are in the Music Academy and the Medical Academy Branch, also very important to the city and the region.

Party work in these institutions has undergone a rather important evolution recently. During the last 2 years many events occurred at the institutions which were politically unfavorable. Even today, this has had an effect on party work. With changes in rectors, the situation is improving. The party organizations have become more active. The departmental party organizations are consolidating, e.g., in the Technical Agricultural Academy. The commitment of the political life of the institutions to socialist transformations is now more and more apparent, for which all those who contribute to this deserve thanks. This process should be intensified.

The adaptation of courses of study to the socioeconomic needs of the region should be straightened out. This pertains particularly to the Agricultural Academy, whose staff should take more active part in solving the voivodship's socioeconomic problems.

From the information submitted to the KW executive board, it appears that the fall-winter haulages in rail and motor transportation are proceeding efficiently. There is no lack of problems (a shortage of work shoes and clothing, lack of tires, batteries, freight cars, etc.). The transport workers are working with dedication, for which the KW executive board expressed its praise along with wishes that their work proceed efficiently during the winter.

#### Plenum on Beneficial Farm Changes

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (j.s.): "Pave the Way by Beneficial Changes in the State Farms"]

[Text] Last Friday in Bydgoszcz a plenary meeting of the party Voivodship Committee (KW) took place, which was attended by comrade Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary. The meeting was devoted to a comprehensive assessment of actions being taken to reform the state farms. In addition to the KW members, representatives of the workforces took part in the deliberations: foremen, combine operators, secretaries of plant party organizations, representatives of the self-government now being revived and the trade unions being formed on new bases, enterprise managers, and employees of the National and Voivodship State Farms Association. The meeting was conducted by comrade Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the PZPR KW.

With attention and satisfaction, comrade Bednarski emphasized in the introduction, we are following the process of the productive activation of the Bydgoszcz State Farms, begun by reform. Its present and future results are very important: they



support the market and agriculture; they exert influence to improve living conditions for the workforces, and they confirm the conviction that this sector is important to the food economy in the country and the region. It is not by chance that the voivodship echelon devotes so much time in its daily work to state farm problems.

The report delivered by comrade Zenon Zmudzinski, KW secretary, was a comprehensive assessment of the production and sociopolitical situation in the Bydgoszcz State Farms after the first year's experience with the new economic-financial system.

A 1-year period of reform application--warned the speaker--does not yet fully reveal its advantages, nevertheless it allows us to determine initially the effect of new management methods on the structure and growth of production, and on the wages and activeness of the workforces. The unanswered question is: at what stage of implementation is this reform, what stands in its way, and what measures should be taken to improve things. We believe, comrade Zmudzinski said, that the plenum will find an answer to this fundamental question. Anyway, there is a great deal of material on which a determination can be based. The plenum was preceded by the work of 11 problem teams, numerous field trips and consultations.

We should consider the fact, the KW secretary said, that the State Farms were the first, somewhat in the nature of an experiment, to test the reform, and furthermore this occurred during a politically and economically difficult period. That is why we should give more recognition to the unselfishness and diligence of the workforces. The independence of the farms is shown mainly in their departure from directives and indicators, and in their planning of sizes and qualities of production in accordance with actual capabilities. And it is probably this factor that is responsible for the fact that reform in the State Farms, in spite of many obstacles, is, for the most part, being applied correctly.

The abolishment of the orders-directive system made it possible for the managements and workforces to decide production matters independently. After just one year of management under the new system, results are evident. The share of grain in the crop structure increased by over 5,000 hectares. More beets and rape are being cultivated. In livestock production the necessity of reorienting the structure has become obvious; the farms are stressing livestock productivity, and not solely their numbers, as had been the case.

One shortcoming is the shortage of cultivating equipment: many enterprises do not have machines, tractors, or repair shops. The housing construction situation is very bad. Sixteen enterprises submitted applications for construction of housing, while the amounts of funds allocated (116 million zlotys) are not even enough to continue the jobs begun last year. The problem of housing cannot be ignored.

In the next part of the report the speaker stressed the need to further stimulate party work in the State Farms. Last year showed how much depends on party activity, particularly in creating an atmosphere of order and diligence. At the inspiration of the party organizations, in almost all of the enterprises workers' self-governments were formed before 13 December of last year, and after they were suspended, social commissions were formed, whose work was highly appreciated by the workforces. It should also be mentioned that all of the enterprises have already made proposals to reactive the workers' self-governments, and this fact also has an effect on the

application of reform. The process of forming trade unions is also going well; immediately after the law was passed by the Sejm, initiative groups arose in all the enterprises, working towards normalizing union work. A great deal still has to be done, comrade Zmudzinski emphasized in the final portion of the report, to pave the way for all three principles of reform.

In a discussion which lasted several hours, 16 comrades took the floor. The first secretary in the party organization in Sartowice, Marian Wroblewski, addressed himself to the deficit of over 2 million zlotys in the accounts of the Rulewo enterprise. The Vistula [River] flooded the fields and the loan on a farm which was too large for the needs of the enterprise unbalanced the budget. Much has already happened for the better, the people were aroused, yet it still hurts that despite the fact that they worked twice as hard, they could not benefit from the bonus fund this year.

Janusz Heller, from the Intervoivodship Party school, warned against the tendency to improve, in many cases, financial results without an apparent growth in production. Mieczyslaw Slomianowski, a tractor driver from the Tuchola State Farms, shared his comments on work with the reviving self-government, which also has a deciding voice in such matters as transferring undesirable plots of land to the State Lands Fund. The first secretary of the party Gmina Committee, Boleslaw Sobanski, praised the work and the attitude of the State Farms workforces in the Sicienko gmina district. Not everywhere, despite considerable improvement, is all well in the Dabrowa Chelminska gmina, said Jan Kaizer from Zoledow. A part of the land is lying fallow and that which is productive is not being cultivated properly.

--We have become, said the State Farms manager in Krusliwiec, Janusz Kucharski, an experimental rabbit of reform, but it has been good for us, which is most surprising, thus far, to the opponents of the state sector in agriculture. In agriculture, results cannot appear on a day-to-day basis. It takes time. In Krusliwiec, in any case, progress has been observed. More grain has been harvested and about 3,000 tons more slaughter animals have been sold.

Jan Janga from the Radzim State Farms spoke about party work, its influence on attitudes and viewpoints, about the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth (OKON), how it was formed in the enterprise, and about the formation of repair groups for the winter period. Witold Szmelter, combine operator from Tuchola, also referred to this, saying that in its plant every second worker is a party member. The atmosphere in our plant is good, and results also, he said. An initiative group here is already functioning, Andrzej Michalak from Kobylnice informed those in attendance at the plenum. A trade union founding committee was been formed and an application for registration has already been sent to the court. The self-government is being revived and six people joined the party.

The next discussant, Jerzy Chmielewski, manager of the Bydgoszcz State Farms Association, talked about changes in management and the differences between the new and the old associations. Reform is a fact, it is bringing results, and what is important now, he emphasized, is to go forward and eliminate the obstacles.

--The Voivodship Office--the vice governor, Zygmunt Tylicki said--approves the changes occurring in the Bydgoszcz State Farms. Inspections conducted in the presence of the army confirm this opinion: more is being done now in the State Farms to promote

economical management, order, and production, which does not mean that all is well yet everywhere. The vice governor spoke for a longer time on the housing problem, which greatly limits the cadre and production capacity of the farms. Some of the farms lose too much, as Jan Wielgosz from the Dabrowa Chelminska correctly observed, because of bad management of fodder.

The PZPR Central Committee secretary, Zbigniew Michalek, took the floor during the Friday plenum. Acknowledging that the initiative in assessing reform is valuable, he said: The fact that the party is able to talk about the future, as you, comrades, are doing here today, is an indication that the worst is behind us and that we can concentrate on what is really worrying the people--the production of food.

Comrade Michalek explained many issues which the discussion had revealed. We cannot count on an increase in the production of fertilizers, because our industry needs to be modernized, and deliveries from abroad are restricted due to lack of foreign exchange. Therefore, we must with greater energy set about doing something about our agri-engineering and increase production in this way. The already-improving supplies of machines and equipment should assist in this.

The Central Committee secretary dwelled longer on the issue of food. There is a food shortage, so better use must be made of the land, everything that the country and agriculture has. We simply must have good farmers, and it is good that the workforces of the State Farms are becoming so, on a scale that is more and more measurable and with more impact on the market.

After a discussion, in which the following also took the floor: Jacek Jezierski from Znin, Antoni Przedborski from Janowiec, Czeslaw Dalewski and Stefan Zielinski from Bydgoszcz, the plenum passed a resolution stressing further improvement in methods to increase production in the State Farms.

In the final portion of the deliberations, the first secretary of the PZPR KW, Henryk Bednarski, said that a party assessment of the problems relating to application of reform in the State Farms confirms the correctness of the processes that are being conducted in this sector of agriculture, both as concerns intensification of production as well as stimulation of workforces to do better work and improve their living conditions.

#### Termination of Reports' Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 17-18-19 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Z. J.]

[Text] On Saturday, the 18th of this month, the local PZPR conference in Bydgoszcz will end the reports' campaign in all party elements in the Bydgoszcz voivodship. It began in October with meeting in party groups. These were working meetings, sometimes organized even during the coffee breaks. The reports' meetings in the primary and departmental party organizations and in the larger factory organizations were also of a working nature.

The discussion covered a wide range of problems. In workplaces the basic subject was the application of economic reform and the resultant difficulties due to lack of raw and other materials, often caused by sanctions imposed by the western states. The lack of protective and work clothing for the workforces, as well as the shortage of personal hygiene items, and the high prices of certain products, came under criticism. In the countryside during discussions the need to increase productivity from every hectare of land was stressed. There were complaints also of the complications for farmers caused by lack of sometimes even basic work tools. Opportunities created by laws pertaining to the development of rural self-government were emphasized. The problems of activating particular elements and individual members of the party were brought up, and also matters important for the entire country, including those related to the rebirth of the trade union and self-government movement. The effects of actions by centers inimical to Poland were emphasized, and the need to counteract this propaganda.

The PZPR KW executive board in Bydgoszcz acknowledged that the work of the reports' campaign contributed in a very important way to the consolidation of the party and to an increase in its activeness. There were, it is true, less-effective reports' meetings and conferences, but they were not the ones that determined the overall worth of this campaign. It was confirmed that the party echelons and elements established closer ties with the communities in which they work, which was also favorably influenced by the efficient manner in which citizens' complaints and suggestions were handled and the concern shown by the party for the citizens' working and living conditions.

The KW executive board approved the concept for preparation of materials for the PZPR voivodship conference which will take place in mid-January next year. This will be established by the KW plenum which will assemble before the end of this year to approve the reports materials for the conference.

The PZPR KW executive board approved the schedule of activities of the PZPR KW in Bydgoszcz after the PZPR Central Committee Tenth Plenum. It was determined that the materials from this important plenum did not go far enough into the party organizations. In connection with this, the KW executive board wrote a letter addressed to the primary party organizations in the Bydgoszcz voivodship. Yesterday the KW secretaries and the members of the executive board paid a visit to the 17 larger plants of the voivodship, so as to discuss the tasks ensuing from the Central Committee's Tenth Plenum resolution with the political, self-government, and management aktiv. In this context the executive board also discussed the assumptions of the voivodship's socioeconomic plan for 1983.

#### New Situations - New Obligations

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 20 Dec 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by (bur)]

[Text] The city PZPR reports' conference was held in Bydgoszcz on Saturday. It was attended by 267 delegates representing an almost 30,000-member city party organization. Among the invited guests in the meeting hall were: Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the PZPR KW in Bydgoszcz; the plenipotentiary of the National Defense

Committee (KOK) for the Bydgoszcz voivodship, Brig Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski; the governor for Bydgoszcz, Bogdan Krolewski; and the chairman of the City People's Council (MRN), Bronislaw Rosiak. The conference was conducted by Ignacy Iwancz, first secretary of the City Committee.

The reports' paper of the city authorities, delivered by the first secretary of the City Committee I. Iwancz, contained an honest assessment of what the PZPR city organization went through since spring of last year, an assessment of both the achievements as well as the shortcomings. At the beginning of the term the most important task was that of consolidating the city organization, galvanizing it to more active opposition to the ever more frequent attacks on the attainments of socialism, and the work in behalf of national conciliation. The joint work of the city authorities and the Primary Party Organizations (POP) aktiv had already begun to bring an understanding in the entire city organization of the processes occurring in the country, and an evolution of viewpoints and an understanding of the efforts of the state and party authorities took place.

The processes of consolidation and putting the organization in order were accelerated after 13 December, and mainly after the Central Committee Seventh Plenum. The growth of party discipline from that time on is apparent, and the POP remember their rights and their statutory obligations better. The POP are more active in matters that rankle the workforces and the community, and take care that they are settled properly. They are able also to correctly assess the attitudes of their members. The city organization is smaller by 4,600 members and candidates, of whom 206 were expelled.

Today this is not the party organization that it was at the beginning of the term. It is capable of functioning, of undertaking political initiatives, but the inadequacies of its work should not be overlooked. It has great mobilizational ability, but is still not able to extend broadly with its program into the workers' and community circles. Not all of the POP are sufficiently active, and in many of them a considerable number of comrades are passive. The political information sent to all POPs does not yet reach all of the members, and control over implementation of resolutions and proposals is still inadequate.

These and other weaknesses were pointed out by those in attendance at the conference, but the discussions contained too few proposals responding to the questions and how these weaknesses could be overcome. The first secretary of the Plant Committee in the educational community, Z. Imbirowski, spoke of the need to stimulate more activity in the POP in the schools, addressing postulates to the city authorities. But who, if not the Plant Committee in this community, is responsible for the activeness of the POP in the schools? There were few assessments and concrete proposals delivered from the workforces to the administrative authorities of the city.

The speeches of Janusz Urbanski, from the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops, and Janusz Lankauf, from the POP at the Voivodship Office, deserve comment. Urbanski indicated the way in which the party can gain authority in the plants, become able to act effectively. He spoke of the constant attempt to reach the people, to attempt to solve their most difficult matters, of open assessment of attitudes, of setting an example by doing one's job in an honest and professional manner, and of the necessity for opposing ostensible inability. Lankauf pointed to the considerable achievements of the party, which many of the particular POP and many of its members do not know how to exploit. There have never been so many opportunities to shape the policy

of the party authorities. to influence their decisions, but not everyone wants to participate in the process of solving social problems. Zbigniew Bartel, from PRE-FABET Concrete Industry Enterprise, presented a totally different assessment of the application of the principles of centralism. He believes that the party authorities do not always consider the opinions of the members, that the party does not bring to account those comrades who are accustomed to a bureaucratic style of operation. H. Bednarski, KW first secretary, argued with this speech.

Henryk Bednarski in his speech gave high marks to the achievements of the city party organization, and the reports' campaign that is ending. This is an organization, he said, which surely is capable of fulfilling the new obligations that the suspension of martial law in Poland brings with it. He called attention to the fact that it will be necessary to operate in a difficult economic and market situation, one that frequently inspires bitterness among the people, and all under circumstances of activity from the opposition, which will strive to delay the processes of economic stabilization, to inspire lack of faith in the reform program.

Party organizations, Bednarski said, must be capable of exercising effective political control in their area, to make it possible to efficiently implement economic and social tasks. In all of the POP attention must be concentrated on: strengthening organizational, ideological and political unity and the disciplined implementation of party resolutions; strengthening the genuine ties of the party authorities with the entire party and of the party with the workers' communities; consolidating all of the party's positive gains obtained during the period of martial law; taking action against the political dangers that seem to be appearing, against the aims of the political opposition; working in behalf of national conciliation, as for example, supporting the elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), the activeness of the self-governments; and promoting social and production initiatives. The basic obligations of the POP under the present circumstances also include concern for full application of economic reform, and the struggle against deviations from this reform. That is what the tasks assigned by the PZPR Central Committee Tenth Plenum require.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the conference passed a resolution requiring full implementation of the tasks which had been defined in the report by the city authorities. in the discussion, and in the speech by the PZPR KW first secretary.

#### Party Meetings With Work Personnel

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 22 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Zwol.): "The First Secretary of the Party KW in Bydgoszcz on a Working Visit to Lubasz and Naklo"]

[Text] "You come to us without warning, comrade secretary". --"I was in your area and learned quite by accident that you are holding a party organization meeting today, so here I am!".

Those two sentences describe the true meaning of yesterday's visit by Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the party KW in Bydgoszcz, in Naklo and the surrounding area: a new style of work in the voivodship echelon. This surprise, expressed by

the POP first secretary at the SPOMASZ Naklo Restaurant Machinery and Equipment works, Jozef Giersz, was due to the unannounced visit. And not just to SPOMASZ.

First Bednarski visited the State Agricultural Machine Station (POM) in Lubasz, going directly to the production floor where he talked with the workers, and asked about the operations of this enterprise, which gives a great deal of service to agriculture and the countryside. Year after year, over 2,500 tractors are repaired here. Combine harvesters are also repaired and all kinds of spare parts are regenerated. Recently work has begun on rewinding drive motors of ventilating equipment used in commercial hog-fattening. If such motors had to be purchased, in today's prices they would cost 15 times more. A prototype of a pump for a manure pit is also being tested in this plant (a farmer's idea!); presumably it will cost five times less than other equipment of this type now on the market.

After summarizing the meeting with a number of the POM political and administrative aktiv. the KW first secretary went to the sugar factory in Naklo, now in its 101st processing period in the history of the factory. The plan for beet processing is on schedule, and will go on to the middle of January.

And, finally, SPOMASZ, in Naklo. From the information supplied by the factory managing director, Ryszard Gaczorek, we learn that this year's production plan will be fulfilled (434 million zlotys) of which 60 percent will go for export.

As concerns export, the factory has an unlimited sales potential; however, it must give thought to meeting domestic demand. The wages of the workforce rose as much as 23.2 percent.

In organizational matters, a characteristic element of the meeting were requests from two PZPR members to be stricken from the rolls of the POP, and at the same time, the applications of two persons to be accepted as candidates for party membership. It is this problem, one that is really on the decline--the turning-in of party membership cards and the simultaneous entry of new people into the party--that was the subject of lively discussion. It was emphasized that this sometimes natural process of "self-cleansing" in the party ranks will be good for the PZPR. Much concern was shown for the development of the trade union movement, but problems of housing construction and renovation did not escape discussion.

The first secretary of the party KW, H. Bednarski, shared the concern of those who spoke before him, underscoring that truly, no one knows why some comrades regard the supporting of the "disturbances" of the trade unions as something to be ashamed of. He spoke also about the increasingly better situation in the manufacturing-production industry in Bydgoszcz; in November the increase was 2 points higher than the national average.

The PZPR KW first secretary was accompanied by the heads of the Naklo town and gmina: Tadeusz Sobol, first secretary of the City and Gmina Committee, and Stanislaw Grajek, gmina head.

## Plenum on Reports' Material Ratification

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA 29 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) in Bydgoszcz at yesterday's plenary meeting familiarized itself with information on how the reports' campaign is proceeding in the voivodship's party organization and on the state of preparations for the voivodship reports' conference. The voivodship committee accepted and ratified the reports' material on the activities of the voivodship echelon and its organs during the period from June 1981 to December 1982. The KW also accepted the information on the work of the KW executive board for the period from the end of September to 28 December 1982. The deliberations were conducted by PZPR KW first secretary Henryk Bednarski.

Reporting on how the reports' campaign is proceeding, KW secretary Zenon Zmudzinski said that proper preparation of meetings and conferences made it possible to fully assess both the achievements as well as the weakness in party work. The campaign confirmed that increasingly the POP and party members are aware of their responsibility in implementing the PZPR Ninth Congress program. This awareness bears fruit in more constructive participation of many POP in the life of the working personnel and the communities, in dealing with the vital matters of the workers in their home plants, in concern that the obligations required by the proposals that have been accepted are fulfilled. There is a greater understanding today that in order to reform the state and the economy, profound changes must be made in the operations of enterprises, the lowest elements of the administration, and the basic party elements. Hence much time during meeting and conferences is being devoted to an assessment of the results that reform for the factory and in its employees is bringing.

Z. Zmudzinski also described the state of preparation for the voivodship reports' conference. Considering that the tasks ensuing for the voivodship organization from the campaign must be rapidly concretized, he proposed that a voivodship reports' conference be called for 17 January 1983.

Next the KW secretary, Janusz Zemke, presented a draft of a report for the conference, covering the activities of the PZPR Voivodship Committee from June 1981 to December 1982. Attention is called, in these materials, to the fact that before and after imposition of martial law the party operated in totally different conditions, that sometimes today the extent of the threat is either being forgotten or minimized. It is stated that the voivodship party organization did not remain idle during that period, that the activities and political assessments formulated then by the KW proved to be correct.

During an 18-months' period, the Voivodship Committee met nine times, and the KW executive board, 35 times. The subjects of the meetings, aside from an assessment of the current sociopolitical situation, included party tasks during martial law, the role of the POP, the situation among the youth, twice matters regarding the countryside and agriculture, and the problems of the small-scale industry. The meetings were always preceded by extensive consultation of documents.

During this time the voivodship party organization dropped from 96,800 to 84,600 members. This was a lower drop than the average in the country. It was primarily



a process of purging the party of people who are uncertain and irresolute. This process cannot be regarded as one that weakened the party, for progress in consolidating the party has been apparent in recent months, and there has been an increase in discipline and unity of action in the entire organization. Gradually many of the POP and other local echelons are rebuilding their positions, and new party candidates are being accepted. The party accepted 321 new members.

The reports' materials also called attention to the shortcomings in party work. The state of training in the POP continues to be disturbing--30 percent of the organizations are not training at all. The work of the party and party organizations among the youth is inadequate. Interest in youth matters cannot be occasional, in connection with the Central Committee or Voivodship Committee plenum.

In the reports' materials we have determined, said J. Zemke, that the period of martial law was used in the voivodship to put management in order, to begin the application of economic reform. Since August 1982 production is systematically increasing, as compared with the same period in 1981, and in November, for example, it was already 12.1 percent higher. The voivodship's indicators are higher than the national averages, but it is a fact that the production level in Bydgoszcz has not yet reached the 1979 level, and in certain fields, such as fuels, clothing and fodder, it is even lower than in 1981. Construction is still having a great deal of difficulty. A great deal still can be done to improve the quality and quantity of products, and the economy in production; the incentive systems in the factories and the pricing policy must be improved. Self-government is reviving too slowly (it is functioning in 83 enterprises) and so are the trade unions (they are registered in over 60 factories and 120 applications are awaiting investigation by the Voivodship Court). Agriculture, despite difficulty, is achieving good results. Procurement of slaughter livestock is 5.6 percent higher, and milk procurement is 8.3 percent higher than last year. Procurement of grain is proceeding reasonably well. The decline in interest in livestock production is disturbing.

Nine comrades took part in the plenary discussion: Zbigniew Smigielski, first secretary of the party's City Committee in Chojnice; Zdzislaw Malecki, first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee in Znin; Jerzy Kulesza from the Voivodship Communications Administration (WZL) in Bydgoszcz; Leon Wroblewski, from the Kesowo gmina; Sylwester Hernacki from Kruszwica; Mieczyslaw Maciejewski, from Inowroclaw; Hilary Kaczmarek, from Inowroclaw; Malgorzata Skonieczna, chairman of the PZPR Voivodship Audit Commission; and Zbigniew Krezalowski, from Bydgoszcz. The participants in the discussion approved the reports' materials, adding comments in some cases to the assessments contained therein.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee ratified the report and other materials for the voivodship reports' conference which it decided to convene for 17 January 1983 at 9 am. It decided also that from 5 to 8 January there will be regional meetings of delegates to the conference, at which these materials will be discussed.

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the KW first secretary, Henryk Bednarski, took the floor. In the name of the voivodship echelon he expressed his praise and thanks to all party members for their active political position. He also thanked all the working people in the Bydgoszcz voivodship for their work in the year that is ending and wished them a productive 1983. (bur)

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After the KW plenum, there was a meeting of the voivodship's political leadership aktiv at which the economic and sociopolitical situation was assessed. The KW first secretary, Henryk Bednarski, called attention to the progressive normalization, the growth of production in industry, the improvement in availability of food items, and the better functioning of local transportation and trade. Order and safety in the Bydgoszcz voivodship were given good grades. The meeting was attended by the deputy commanders of the Pomeranian Military District (POW), Brig Gen Henryk Kondas and Brig Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski, and the consul general, minister plenipotentiary of the USSR Consulate in Gdansk, Lew Wachramiejew.

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ORZECZOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON IDEOLOGICAL ROLE OF PZPR

PM281029 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Jan 83 pp 3-4

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Prof Marian Orzechowski by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Zygmunt Dziubek--date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] Let us assume, comrade Professor, that you become secretary of the POP [primary party organization]. What ideological tasks would your POP set itself in the first place?

[Answer] Your question is somewhat difficult to answer for the simple reason that, in the main, the rules of our party and the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, together with the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee's successive plenary sessions and the decisions and resolutions of the Politburo and the Central Committee, define the ideological tasks to be undertaken and realized by party organizations. The most concise expression of these tasks is contained in the documents relating to party instruction courses.

A Balance Sheet of the Party's Condition

I would, however, like to answer it in a different way. As a POP secretary I would try to answer two questions that I would put to myself. First, what is my POP like; who are its members; what is the level of their political knowledge, their ability to view things in terms of Marxism-Leninism; how capable are they of assessing those things independently; what gaps are there in their party education; what are their greatest preoccupations; what doubts do they have? To put it in a nutshell, I would begin with a kind of balance sheet illustrating the organization's ideological and political condition. The second matter, the second set of questions which I would be asking myself would concern the category of employee within which this particular party organization would be working. I would also try to make an assessment of the whole environment: its complexity, its opinions, the view it takes of the topics of the day, its attitude toward reality and the party's work and program. And it would be only on the basis of this assessment that I would map out the main ideological tasks.

[Question] And in concrete terms?

[Answer] Supposing I found that, for example, the basic weakness lies in the fact that the members of my party organization are unable to analyze the phenomena around them in terms of class dependences, that is, that they lack that basic ability which should be the hallmark of the party member's way of thinking. I would then try to highlight these questions in our party education and training program in my organization, so that people would learn to think in those terms whenever they do or say anything, whenever they undertake any action. For they must always realize who is served by it; how it relates to the workers' interests; how it corresponds to their idea of what is good and what is bad, what is just and what is unjust, what is socialist and what is not socialist. It seems to me, in any case, that this ability to form an independent assessment of social phenomena and social processes in terms of a class system is probably the crucial factor from the standpoint of ideology.

[Question] In our party these things vary a lot, but it seems that the major weakness is the frequent absence of independent opinions and conclusions.

[Answer] The fact itself that many of the workers, including many party members, allowed themselves to be deceived by popular catchwords and social demagoguery constitutes proof that they were unable to analyze and assess these slogans and promises in a sober and independent way. That they were unable to answer the question: "All right, if we are talking about social justice, equality, self-management, what concrete meaning is hidden behind them? What do they mean, those people who bandy them about? How do they see it all materializing?"

It seems to me that this is an exceptionally difficult and exceptionally important question. Our party's entire ideological, educational and training activity is aimed not only at presenting party members with a definite sum of knowledge about the phenomena that surround them and all that happens in the country, but also at developing their ability to form independent opinions and assessments and draw their own independent conclusions.

#### For the Proper Meaning of the Concept of Ideology

[Question] It was not without reason that I asked you my first question. During many reports meetings, and not only there, the opinion can be heard that "this is not the time for ideology--it is economics that is more important today." But these two must not be separated, especially now when large areas of people's awareness are often still clouded.

[Answer] It is true; I often hear such opinions, formulated more or less brutally, more or less precisely. I think this is related, among other things, to the method by which we had once attempted to popularize our Marxist-Leninist ideology, and to the superficial notions typical of party members--many party members--regarding ideology. And so in those superficial notions ideology was very often seen as a collection of catchwords, lofty slogans empty of real meaning which were at odds with reality, that reality

which everybody could see around him and could compare with the slogans. It was precisely this window dressing and its remoteness from everyday life that made people identify our ideology with empty phrases and platitudes.

That is why our first task is to return its proper meaning to the concept of ideology as such. And the second: to demonstrate the close relation between ideology and life. The ideal model of popularizing our ideology would be one in which we would not speak of Marxism and general terms, divorced from reality, at all, but apply Marxist categories when analyzing our current reality--while, at the same time, from this very same analysis of our current reality, our everyday life, the individual and the shared experience of the worker and the party member, we would draw certain generalizations which enrich the ideology. In the broadest outline, to talk about ideology is to ask for the sense of our actions: for instance, the sense of economics. After all, the problem lies not in saying how admirable that Marxist-Leninist ideology is but in our ability to relate it to life, that is, to show the sense of such things as, for example, our striving for increased productivity. For the truth is that without increased productivity there can be no question of realizing the goals signposted by our ideology, those goals of social equality and justice, of democracy, of the dignity of man and the opportunities for his all-around development.

After all, whenever we say that the main question is to convince people that it is only we and no one else who can lead the country out of the crisis, we are also talking about ideology. When we say that there is, after all, a deeper sense to those hundreds and thousands of our small, pedestrian, often very tiresome everyday activities, that they all have a common denominator whose name is the building of socialism in Poland, then we are also talking about ideology and about its relevance to everyday life.

In the most general sense ideology sets up the goals which we, as the party, realize, and it defines--or, rather, points to--the means and methods with which these goals can be realized.

#### Education, Not Formalist Schooling

[Question] We do, on the whole, know what to do, but often we do not know how to do it. Many young activists lack experience in ideological work. They are not familiar with the methods and the forms. What help can they expect?

[Answer] The party's activity at its various organizational levels, up to the Central Committee, is geared to give them any help they might need. We can list very many examples here, from party instruction programs to dozens of auxiliary materials and pamphlets designed to aid instruction, such as, for example, the "PZPR Primary Organization Handbook," which is designed as a party work primer for the young party secretaries and executive board members who are new to party work. We do realize that these are only our first steps and that the way ahead of us is still very long, but certain directions have already been mapped out. We also realize that the most

important thing is to reach the primary party organizations, and in particular those operating in industry. It would, in a way, be my own personal ambition to organize the system of party schooling, party education, in this way. As for myself, I do not particularly like the word "schooling" and I would prefer to use the concept of educating, as "schooling" suggests that somebody is teaching somebody else, that...

[Interviewer] ...it is a one-way process.

[Answer] One way only. The concept of education would be more fitting here. But it is not words we are concerned with: it is their sense. It is the fact that party education should always reflect its two-way nature. It should assume the form of discussion, of an exchange of opinions in which, naturally, the person who organizes it is more knowledgeable than his colleagues in one specific field, but less so in other fields. Another form of such exchange of opinions and sharing of experience is found in the meetings between members of central leadership and party organizations, for it is not true that, for example, I the secretary, I the Central Committee member must inevitably instruct those who come to the meeting-- I can also learn something. They are richer in their everyday experience that can in many ways inspire our party work and add to the knowledge and individual experience of every participant.

It is also hardly surprising that the old model of party schooling was not too highly rated by party organizations. After all, on the one hand it was all too often limited to passing on models that were both removed from reality and ill conceived, and, on the other, it was too instructional.

What Does Simple Language Mean?

[Question] The effects of negligence in working directly with the people, in propaganda work, in talking to them face to face, in offering them explanations will in all probability continue to take their toll for a long time to come. It is true that language is, among other things, an important factor here, but the repeated slogan-like appeals to make this language simple are quite infuriating at times. I am in favor of such language, but there are words and concepts which cannot, must not be substituted by others--and if they are, the meaning will change. We have, for example, the concept of the leading, guiding role of the party, and I can see no other brief term that could possibly be used instead of it.... unless somebody is anxious to dilute the concept altogether.

[Answer] The party's educational and instruction work consists not only in organizing meetings and similar things but in its ability to convey ideas, opinions and values through direct, individual contacts. It also includes agitation, which, incidentally, is one of the most neglected areas of our party life. Agitation underlies the earliest history of the workers' mass movement. The ability to speak in public, to excite people's emotions, to touch their feelings and convey certain concrete meanings in this way has always been an important element of party work. The question of language

is closely connected with this. I do agree with the opinion contained in your question: it is true, but I would add one reservation here, namely that simple language means neither primitive nor impoverished language. Simple language means one that is clear, that has a chance of reaching not only our reason and intellect but also our feelings. It also means a language that is correct, or even beautiful, in the formal, literary sense. But simple does not mean simplified. It is with the help of simple, comprehensible language that resorts neither to baroque stylistic constructions nor to a superabundance of foreign, incomprehensible words (which serve, as a rule, to conceal a banality of meaning) that we are able to explain even the most complicated of phenomena.

I often talk about all this, and I always cite Lenin's example here. He wrote in very simple, vivid language that appealed not only to people with a certain store of knowledge but often even to the illiterate. And it was the same language which Lenin used to explain and interpret even the most complex phenomena of political and social life, a language in which Lenin never resorted to such complex words as, for instance, revisionism, opportunism or reformism. But this is precisely the very essence of the simplicity of language: to use it so that we can, with its help, enrich the world of ideas and the language of those whom we address. If, for instance, somebody uses such words as opportunism, alienation or revisionism without explaining their meaning, his language is artificial and pseudoscientific. But if, after introducing these concepts, we explain their meaning in a simple and comprehensible manner, then we enrich and extend our audience's vocabulary.

There is yet another reservation. Namely, we must also remember that some terms and concepts cannot be substituted by others. This is also true. Such concepts as Marxism-Leninism, the leading role of the party, class interest or class struggle cannot be substituted by any other terms. But we must realize that these words, together with the word socialism, have been so abused and vulgarized that to ignore the largely negative, emotional and often irrational social response to them would be a gravely oversimplified reaction.

[Question] It would be non...Marxist, to say the least.

[Answer] And this is why I would insist on refraining from replacing these words by others, for they are irreplaceable, but would urge instead their economical use. Their placing within context must be such that it should always be possible to understand what they mean. When we talk of social justice, that most commonly used and abused concept, we must try to explain that we mean by it: what social justice means today, and what it means in universal terms. When we talk of social or political equality, these terms also need to be defined. And, incidentally, all these words will only regain their full splendor when their meaning, the content we fill them with, fully corresponds to the social reality. In simple terms: when it is possible to test them at a moment's notice against the reality and confront all that we speak about with all that actually happens.

## The Mortal Sin of Campaign Overkill

[Question] I must say that our party does not always know how best to exploit various excellent occasions for intensifying its propaganda and agitation work. The most recent example of this was the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement. We were unable to make good use of it in the press, for example....

[Answer] One of our recurring weak points was that the pattern of our propaganda, educational and ideological work followed, as a rule, particular anniversaries. This gave it, on the one hand, a superficially ostentatious and festive quality--since it would, after all, be difficult to conceive of those great anniversaries without the festive elements of pomp and circumstance--and, on the other, a campaign-like nature, intensified for a time and then forgotten. That is why I think that when we talk about this particular centenary and the fact that we were unable to better exploit it in the press, we are stating a fact: it could have been done better. This is true. But this also represents, in my view, a certain way of seeing anniversaries. In my view, that of a historian and party activist, that solution would be best in which the elements associated with our movement's history and tradition could be permanently present in our educational and propaganda work, where the 101st anniversary would be no less important than the round figures of the 90th or the 110th anniversaries.

[Question] When I asked you this last question I was not thinking of any centenary in general, but of the one celebrated at the present time. After all, these first years of the 1980's have been very difficult for the old activists of the workers' movement. They deserve something more than just to be feted. Our party needs them very much.

[Answer] Of course. And this is what we are doing, but we want to avoid the above-mentioned campaign overkill. Party work has all too often revolved around anniversaries and important occasions in the life of the party--I mean congresses and, for example, Central Committee plenums. And this is, of course, the most dangerous trend. An example can, for instance, be furnished by the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, devoted, as we know, to youth issues. The trouble is that that plenum, which was of a strategic nature, mapping out our party work for years, or even decades, ahead, could very quickly lose its topicality for, as many people still believe, there will come a new plenum, with a new set of problems. There will be an agricultural plenum, then one devoted to matters of ideology. Then other plenary sessions will follow, all devoted to important problems of our sociopolitical life, and we will forget that there was a Ninth Plenum, although its subject, resolutions, decisions and directives will never have lost their topicality. I think it is essential to eliminate this very shortcoming in our ideological work so that the Ninth Plenum and its content could retain their significance regardless of whether it is 1982, 1983 or 1984. We must reach a state in which it becomes second nature to our daily party activity. Then and only then will we be able to say that we have got rid of that mortal sin of campaign overkill, of giving only occasional heightened treatment to matters of fundamental significance in our life.



## The Serving Function of the Vanguard Party

[Question] We have entered a new year. We look with some hope into the future, but we are not free of all anxiety. The Ninth Congress line, that is, the strategy of struggle and accord, remains in force. How, in your opinion, Comrade Secretary, is this line understood and implemented in our party? I get the impression that the full realization of our statutory duties is still a long way off.

[Answer] This is surely related to the broader question concerning our whole party: its ideological and organizational condition. We must, in any case, start from a definite premise that will demythologize certain thought habits and traditions. I mean the practice of viewing the party, or treating the party, as a peculiar goal in itself. What is forgotten here is the fact that the party is an instrument, a tool which is supposed to help in the realization of a definite goal. After all, to put things simply, a hundred years ago it was the vanguard, the most aware part of the working class who, drawing mostly on their own experience, but on that of other peoples' as well, and acting together with some people who had adopted the class positions of the proletariat as their own, created on the Polish territories a political party that was to constitute an instrument on the struggle to overthrow capitalism and build a new socialist society.

From this view of the party, where it is regarded as an instrument, follows a thoroughly practical conclusion: that everything that happens within the party, all its binding rules, all the principles which govern its internal life as an organization, are subordinate to the realization of goals. Intraparty democracy; democratic centralism; the political and organizational unity of the party: these are extremely important and precious values in their own right, but at the same time they are functional, instrumental in relation to other, superior values such as, above all, the struggle for socialism. To put it briefly, the party must always adapt its internal life and all that happens within its ranks to the tasks in hand. This is particularly apparent and important at every turning point and watershed, when we can all see the ending of one period, the achievement of one fragmentary goal, and the beginning of the next one. This is precisely what we are experiencing today.

We are, after all, aware that the party is just now entering a new stage, and the whole state, the whole of society is also entering that new stage. It is the period of the suspension of martial law, the period of emerging from it, and at the same time emerging, gradually, from the crisis. Our external circumstances are changing; during the period of the suspension of martial law and, in the future, after its lifting, our society will remain the same Polish society, although it will also be a changed society, having lived through certain hard experiences and difficult moments. And that is why it is so important for the party to be fully armed. That is why it is so very important not only for the party to remain close-ranked and cohesive as regards ideology, in both ideological and political terms, but for every party member to feel that he is indeed a member of his party, to feel

responsible for his party as a whole; to concentrate his efforts and his potential for social activity, along with the commitment that he took upon himself when he joined the party, upon those areas where his active contribution is most needed: among others, in mass organizations that bring the working people together.

#### Unity Is Efficacy

The Politburo resolution on strengthening the unity and increasing the effectiveness of party activity has its sources, among other things, in those considerations. Please note that the resolution speaks of strengthening the party's unity and increasing the effectiveness of party activity. This clearly illustrates the functional character of the notion of party unity, or the value of party unity. Not unity for unity's sake but unity for the sake of increasing the effectiveness and openness of party activity. Since experience has shown us that a party deprived of its ideological and organizational unity is ineffective in its work and also fails to fulfill its serving function in relation to the working class and its interests, we decided that it is counterproductive to continue the existence of various clubs, associations and societies which only divert a number of party activists from their work in the primary party organizations.

[Question] This means that there is room in the party for everybody who abides by the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and the successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee....

[Answer] The principal requirement of party membership is that one share and accept certain basic principles formulated in the party rules and recognize as binding the Ninth Congress program. We have no other program. We are going to prepare a long-term program--I hope the national conference is going to discuss and adopt it. We will then have, for the first time since 1948, a long-range program for our party. Today the Ninth Congress resolution serves as just such a long-range program. Everybody who abides by it and takes part in its realization--and this is the important thing--has the opportunity and the chance to work within the party's framework and through the party. One of the platforms which translate the Ninth Congress resolutions into concrete terms and put them into the language of our current experiences and our perspectives for the coming months and years is the document entitled "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Going," which has been extensively discussed for several months by nearly all our party organizations.

[Question] At this point I was going to ask you about this draft declaration, but we have in fact been talking about its substance from the start of our conversation. I will, therefore, only ask you about the suggestions submitted in the course of the discussion. What about the declaration?

[Answer] The suggestions submitted during the discussion, pertaining not only to the content and the nature of the declaration, have been meticulously analyzed, categorized and commented on. The results of their evaluation are

utilized in the current work of the Central Committee departments. After extensive further discussion a new draft declaration has been prepared. This takes into account all the main lines of the party discussion. I think that it will be published soon in the party press; perhaps some form of debate will take place. I would not like to state anything specific about this at the moment. But we would, in any case, want to see the declaration approved--as a binding party document--at the 12th Central Committee Plenum, which will be devoted to matters of ideology. I think that it will also be at that plenum that the Politburo and the Central Committee will issue some form of information on the utilization of the ample yield of the discussion on the draft declaration.

[Question] And, to end with, a question about the future of the party. The party must, after all, go on living, that is, developing--and by this I do not mean any quantitative criteria.

[Answer] If the party program is realized firmly and consistently by party organizations in enterprises, mines and steel plants, then the workers and the workforces will increasingly come to understand that they need this party as much as they need air and water, and this should cause the barriers of mistrust, suspicion, inactivity and procrastination to break down much more quickly. I think this will happen as soon as the workforces at last come to realize that the party--including their own party organization--has no other interest than the interest of the working class: the correctly interpreted interest of the workforce.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

CSO: 2600/346

PZPR OFFICIALS SPEAK AT REPORTS CONFERENCES

Barcikowski in Szczecin

AU251320 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jan 83 p 2

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR CC Secretary, at the 19 January Reports-Programs Conference of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin]

[Text] Kazimierz Barcikowski conveyed the thanks of the central party authorities to the Szczecin party organization for all its activities during the recent, exceptionally difficult period. The party was counting on the Szczecin organization and was not let down by it. Later in his speech, K. Barcikowski stated that reference was frequently made by speakers at the conference to the recent past. It is a good thing that we return to these matters and do not forget the difficult moments as well as the dangerous hours, days and months of the political struggle. It was a time whose experience we should draw on. K. Barcikowski made a positive appraisal of the actions carried out by the Szczecin party cells aimed at weakening the political opponent to the point of totally isolating him.

The opponent claimed in the past that our party was weak and that it would soon cease to exist, K. Barcikowski said. Today the opponent is saying the same, only now from... the underground. In observing the underground's activities and the attempts to implicate Poles in the sphere of foreign interests the question arises: Who has defeated these antisocialist forces in Poland? The answer is: They have been defeated by our party, which constitutes the leading force of the Polish people. The party program worked out at the Ninth Party Congress has become the only program leading to our overcoming the crisis. No one presented an alternative program.

This program also serves the constant regeneration of the party. Incitements to strike, to create street disturbances and unrest do not constitute a program. These are merely the means by which the underground tried to provoke a renewed frustration of state systems, attempting in this way to find its aims and solutions.

K. Barcikowski continued by comparing the state of the party at the end of the 1970's with its present state. He stated that the party today is a

stronger party despite the fact that it is smaller in numbers; it is a party which has an authentic period of struggle behind it.

However, there is much, very much still left to be done, K. Barcikowski said. In order to cope with the many duties, we must direct all the strength we have as a party to these activities. We must act effectively, almost on a day-to-day basis.

While referring to the imposition of martial law, which safeguarded our country and our people from the specter of civil war, K. Barcikowski stated that despite this, too often we speak of having escaped civil war without realizing the terrible significance behind this word, when there were, after all, various forces in existence which tried at all cost to bring about the situation which now exists in El Salvador or Afghanistan.

Today, the fundamental activity of our party is a course which we call national agreement. All the people's healthy forces wishing to act in this cause and apply for admission to the movement of national agreement can and must do a lot in this matter. The movement's aim is to eliminate divisions in society.

K. Barcikowski continued by mentioning the attitude of the authorities in relation to the forces and people who have not acquiesced to their defeat and still attempt to continue their activities. The authorities will deal with these people with the greatest severity.

Moving to the problems of the economy, the speaker stated that the central burden of the crisis was clearly shifting to the area of the economy. Overcoming the weaknesses of the economy will determine the consolidation of the party's position.

All activities in this direction must, however, be based on a realistic appraisal of the situation and the possibilities which actually exist. There was an absence of this kind of realism in some of the speakers' pronouncements, K. Barcikowski said. As in "better days," we draw up a list of wishes and needs, paying little heed to the ways in which we exploit the resources we already have. We must remember that whatever investments we undertake can only come from what we have at our disposal.

We must live more sensibly, which means, above all, creating initiatives for the sake of production growth, not only in the sense of quantity but also the usefulness and durability of manufactured goods. Let us prepare ourselves for modest investment, preferring only areas such as housing construction, and wherever we have already made investments, let us continue them more successfully and more effectively.

Referring to some views on agricultural matters expressed during the discussion, K. Barcikowski voiced the conviction that farmers and state farm activists should make fewer demands, should assess their own work efficiency

and the utilization of resources and materials with more discrimination and self-criticism, and also understand that the independence of the farms should be coordinated in the interest of society as a whole.

Orzechowski in Gorzow Wielkopolski

AU271750 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 4

[Report on speech by Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski at the 24 January PZPR Reports-Programs Conference in Gorzow Wielkopolski]

[Text] M. Orzechowski discussed at length the trying experiences of the people and the party in 1981-82, especially during martial law, which was introduced as a historical necessity and was implemented in line with our own Polish experience. Despite all the difficulties, we have marched along the road to agreement and profound reforms as mapped out by the Ninth Party Congress.

Today the party is regaining its strength and credibility among people. A source of these first achievements is precisely the unchangeability of policy, the consistent implementation of the Ninth Congress resolutions and the reviving of ties with the workers class and the working people. What the party needs now in particular is modesty, a sense of responsibility for assumed tasks and the awareness that the political enemy is still there. This is why we must continue to implement the strategy of accord and simultaneous political struggle.

It is necessary for party organizations and all party members to help create conditions under which the cells of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], workers self-management groups and trade unions can work successfully. By strengthening democratic structures, we help create the foundations of the political trials of strength in the future, such as the elections to the people's councils and the Sejm.

Referring to the statements from the floor concerning economic problems, M. Orzechowski warned against thinking in the "old style"--against addressing economic demands to the state without taking the country's economic reality into account. It is necessary to have a profound understanding of the simple truth that we have to produce before we can share. Economic shortcomings must not invalidate our political achievements and progress in stabilization. That is why work in the economy is now the principal task of the party--a political, organizational and educational task. The point is to transform our people's economic perception.

The party must be a party of social justice and of struggle against evil in all its forms and manifestations. This is a difficult role in a situation of general shortages, but it is, precisely for this reason, an important role. "Nothing that involves workers can be alien or a matter of indifference to our party," M. Orzechowski said. "It is necessary for our party to serve, be modest and listen to the voice of the workers class. The program of the Ninth Party Congress is our lode star."

Michalek in Przemysl

AU271730 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 4

[Report on speech by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek at the 24 January PZPR Reports-Programs Conference in Przemysl]

[Text] Speaking during the discussion at the conference, Z. Michalek said that the reports conferences, which boil down to reviewing the party's activities, also review the attitudes, efforts and achievements of party members. Are we strong now? It is hard to give an unambiguous answer. The party has fewer members, has not recovered its composure everywhere and has not everywhere found its place anew, but the past period, which was extremely difficult, helped to test our members and to enable the courageous and uncompromising individuals to show their mettle. He who went through that period in the party and together with the party has become toughened is able to achieve a great deal. Speaking of the party's strength in rural areas, we should not mention exclusively private farmers because the party is also represented in state farms, in the RSO [Regional Horticultural Cooperatives], in the farm services and in education.

The political struggle in Poland is not yet over. However, the main area of it has changed: that is represented primarily by the economy. Every increase in production is an argument which is stronger than the finest words. Despite our economic dependence on the West, which is making a political weapon out of this dependence, and despite the fact that the economic reform, which is being implemented without the necessary preparations, is hobbling in many echelons, we must overcome our crisis. Inflation and an avalanche of money are our greatest dangers at present. People say that they are not aware of this avalanche. They are not aware precisely because this avalanche of money is not matched by goods and production.

In conclusion, Z. Michalek discussed the main issues of the joint 11th PZPR-ZSL Plenum, dwelling chiefly on ways to achieve national food self-sufficiency. He stressed in this connection that the implementation of the worker-peasant alliance and the development of correct ties between urban and rural areas have nothing to do with the false assumption that someone "does a favor to" or "helps" someone and so on. The point is that everyone should do his job to the best of his ability. The rural areas' job is to feed the people. That is why it is only after this duty has been fulfilled that we will be able and obliged to always improve the living and working conditions of farmers. Doing this the other way around is out of the question. One of the party's tasks is to bring this truth home to the public. One of the main tasks of each party member is to be a leader in work.

Mokrzyszczak in Tarnobrzeg

AU271800 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 4

[Report on speech by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, at the 24 January PZPR Reports-Programs Conference in Tarnobrzeg]

[Text] Speaking in the discussion at the conference, W. Mokrzyszczak recalled the difficult post-August period during which the party repulsed the attacks of the political enemy and worked on a program for overcoming the crisis, for democratic renewal, for strengthening the foundations of the socialist state and for regaining social trust. The program which was drawn up at that time was used as the basis of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions.

Speaking of the present situation in the party, W. Mokrzyszczak said that the party is sorting out its ranks and that the people who found their way into the party by accident or who were so weak that they could not withstand political burdens continue to leave the party. People continue to leave the party, but there are fewer and fewer of them, and some 6,500 candidates have joined the party, which means that the party is again attracting valuable and active people.

Discussing economic issues, W. Mokrzyszczak noted the need for joint efforts with the ZSL to promote farming and food production. It is also necessary to improve the economic reform at all times. Realism is a must in tackling these tasks.

Party members should fulfill their statutory duties consistently. In this connection, W. Mokrzyszczak recalled the principle of democratic centralism and spoke of the need for the party to follow a considered personnel policy. The party should recommend talented and educated people--party and nonparty--for leading managerial jobs, but it also should withdraw such recommendations where necessary.

W. Mokrzyszczak stressed the importance of party training and of the party's ideological influence on people, especially on the young. We are entering a difficult year, he said. Western sanctions are continuing and the foreign radio stations are keeping up their pressure on our people. The hostile underground in Poland is refusing to give in. However, although it will not be an easy year, 1983 can produce large positive results. Party ranks are closing together and Polish workers and engineers are proving that it is possible to overcome economic barriers with the help of the USSR and the socialist countries.

The party should encourage the creation of workers' self-management groups, the strengthening of the reviving trade union movement and the consolidation of the cells of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. We must be with the people in their daily work in plants and fields. This is the best way to regain public trust.

CSO: 2600/343



THREE YOUNG OFFICERS DISCUSS CAREERS, ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Captain Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "Lieutenants Tell About Their Work"]

[Text] What depends on the milieu which young officers enter? And what depends on the young officers themselves? It is difficult to come up with the exact definition of what depends on whom. The best approach is to examine the issue on the basis of concrete individual cases. In three of these cases, however, I have encountered a certain rule: commanding officers would say that the beginning of professional military service depends on the young officers themselves, whereas the latter would be of the opinion that it mostly depends on where one happens to be stationed, in which garrison, in which collective. In order to learn the details, I have asked three young officers to tell me about their work.

A Staff Officer

I am second lieutenant Marian Wiese. I am 23 years old and, therefore, I can say that not only my professional activity but my life as well are just beginning. I chose the military academy in Koszalin. Long before I was commissioned I started thinking about where I could be assigned for service. I wanted very much to work in Warsaw or in the vicinity, because I got married and my wife was from the city. And how did things turn out? My wish could not be granted. I was assigned to this post, in the woods close to the seashore. I weathered this assignment bravely telling myself that orders are given to be executed. My young wife had more difficulty handling this but she has already made peace with the idea.

I went to the unit with a heavy heart. The road was narrow, with forest on both sides. Finally, we came to the unit and were pleasantly surprised. I was very cordially received by the commanding officer and his staff. It looked like they had been waiting for me, much like you would wait in your house for a dear guest for whom you really care. In the commander's office over coffee I had to tell him about myself. Later the commander informed me about the unit and its achievements so far. He also recalled his career, which also began

here from the rank of second lieutenant. He has been promoted to higher ranks and now he is a major, the commander of this unit. I admit that I liked him from the very beginning.

It turned out soon that I had someone to look up to and to emulate in this place. I was acquainted with the unit's compound, with housing for the soldiers, training rooms and service posts.

The commander of the unit also led me to a hill, pointed towards the sea which was surging that day and asked whether I had ever seen a more beautiful landscape or a better vicinity. Indeed, I had not. I thought that I had lucked out. People were nice, sympathetic and wished me well; the place was nice. It is difficult to live in the boondocks, in the green garrison, but I would have to get used to it and come to like the place. Later on, my optimism was toned down somewhat, because I did not have a place to stay. To be sure, a bed was readied for me in a room with three other persons, but I had something more comfortable in mind, let us say, a room for one person at least. I stayed anyway and this very first night wrote a letter to my wife describing everything and asking her to be patient and understanding.

My wife will come soon. The commander promised to help me find a separate small room and my family life will begin. My service, my professional life, already began several weeks ago, and it began abruptly, with a surprise. Officers from the higher echelon came and began checking our training. What was I to do, right out of the academy and a recently commissioned second lieutenant? The commander even tried to get an exemption from the exam for me. However, I asked him not to do that; it was not appropriate. I wanted him to let me face the test together with everyone else, with the entire personnel of our unit. The commander allowed me to do so.

I have to admit it was not easy. I felt confident about the theory, but I was still at a loss when it came to practice. Meanwhile, the questions I had to answer were very difficult, and it was tougher yet with practice. Suffice it to say that many targets were deployed against our fire emplacements, we had to locate, track and destroy all of them at the right moment. I command a platoon in the unit commanded by lieutenant Marian Kiezun. The lieutenant helped me. Try to imagine it: I passed my first exam with a good grade which is so important for professional activity.

Everyone in the unit congratulated me on passing the examination; they were very sympathetic. They must have come to believe that I could make a "man," that I would fit their meritorious collective. This made me very happy and further built my confidence in overcoming subsequent difficulties. It turns out quite a few difficulties are in store for me. I wound up in a meritorious unit where the criteria are very high. Will I cope with further stages of my service? I am hopeful, as the beginning of my career worked out fine. The rest depends on me, on my diligence. Hard work is not what I am afraid of.

#### A Political Officer

"I am a somewhat atypical political officer," says lieutenant Janusz Winnik. "I did not graduate from a military academy, but only took a course in the

Training Center for Political Officers in Lodz. Before that, I graduated from the Szczecin Teachers' College. I got a job as a teacher. I admit I came to like my profession very much. I taught history. I was satisfied with my work. Then I was drafted and went to the Reserve Officers' School. There I came to know and, I admit, to like the army. I was assigned for field training to a radiotechnical small unit. Its small barracks stood among the houses of a large village. When I looked out from the gates of the barracks, everywhere around there were endless fields and farm buildings in the fields. I did not think I was going to like it. I decided that I would do my stint and go.

Mine was the job of a political officer. The unit, however, was radiotechnical. I was discharging my "educational" responsibilities, but after all I had to learn something about radar surveillance, which was Greek to me. I asked Capt Badowicz and staff ensign Winiarek, as well as others later on, to tell me something about electronic technology. Later, I visited combat posts more and more frequently and spent time in radar stations trying to understand how this complicated machinery and high technology works. When I got to know the equipment superficially I reached for information from books, textbooks and even professional manuals. Having accumulated some knowledge of electronic technology, I came back to combat posts and tried to accompany my colleagues when they were on duty. They did not keep anything from me; they shared professional experience with me. This is how I became an electronics technician, totally by accident. I came to like this work as well. When the time came to take off my uniform, I submitted a request to stay on as a professional soldier.

My duties are that of a political officer. I conduct indoctrination sessions and educate young soldiers, but at the same time I am an electronics technician. I can say that with confidence, because I am highly knowledgeable about and experienced in this field. This year my unit took part in applied combat skills competition of WOPK [Corps of the Anti-aircraft Defense of the Country]. We won. We became champions. As a political officer, I faced all examinations, including the one in electronic technology.

Inspecting officers were taken by surprise: "How come the political officer is so well informed about equipment and its servicing?" As for me I think that being a political officer, I must have knowledge of education, psychology and history, but I must also know as much as possible about the branch in which I serve. Such knowledge boosts my authority. I also think that should there be a necessity to take over for one of the specialists during combat duty, I must do it even as a political officer. Maybe I should do it primarily as a political officer who takes care of proper interpersonal relations, the environment and, perhaps above all, the high performance in training. Is my thinking correct? Perhaps, yes, because it was hard work that brought us high championship performance. Promotion is my personal satisfaction. I was promoted to lieutenant before the generally accepted tenure.

#### A Quartermaster's Officer

Second lieutenant Lech Szolomicki--I graduated from a vocational school of the foodstuffs industry. My parents are farmers. Therefore, when I graduated from the quartermaster's military academy, all signs pointed to me making a good "provisions officer." However, the beginning was very difficult, and

the outset of my professional career turned out to be a failure. Why? Well, first things first.

I opted for the WSOSK [Quartermaster's Service Military Academy] because the school appealed to me. I was interested in matters related to nutrition; besides, I wanted to become an officer. And so I did. Troubles, and not only through my fault, as far as I can see, started when I reported to a unit in the rank of second lieutenant. My predecessor had already left for studies in the ASG [Academy of the General Staff]. There was nobody from whom to take over, and nobody introduced me and acquainted me with the responsibilities I was to assume. We only had a foodstuffs warehouse-keeper in the unit; we did not even have a bookkeeper. I was at a loss, I buried myself in bills and invoices. This was a mistake. Meanwhile, autumn came and it was the time to stockpile agricultural products: potatoes, vegetables. I bungled it.

I counted on the assistance of the quartermaster, but he was young and inexperienced as well. He was demanding, but he did not tell me how I was to do it all. Consequently, the commanding officer blamed me for neglecting my duties.

The year was drawing to a close and I had to start working on statistical evidence, economic analysis and the next year's plan. So I once again became glued to paperwork. I should have been out organizing activities, rather than confining myself to the office and sitting at the desk. Unfortunately, I was held in atrocious repute. Worse yet, nobody asked about the reasons, everybody only saw the consequences which I must admit were anything but good.

Absolutely accidentally, an opportunity came up for me to be transferred to another unit, another garrison. I took advantage of this opportunity. It turned out that the commander of my new unit asked me about the assistance I needed in order for me to perform my duties to his satisfaction. The very fact that the commanding officer was interested was a big incentive for me to work harder.

In the new unit, I was already broken in when I started working. Besides, there is a totally different environment here and, consequently, much more desire to work and put in extra effort, regardless of difficulties and circumstances. We often leave for firing grounds, where it is anything but easy, for me as the person in charge of provisioning just as well. But due to a totally different environment I manage, despite the fact that my new unit is larger than the old one, and we, therefore, have more personnel to feed. First of all, I can approach the quartermaster and the commanding officer with any problem. I can count on their comprehensive assistance. I always receive it. Of course, I am trying to approach them as seldom as possible. However, the very fact that I can do it is an incentive.

It has been 2 years since I started my professional service. In 2 years, I would like to begin my studies at the ASG. The commander told me recently that if I go on discharging my responsibilities as I have so far, I have my studies almost locked up.

Now I am taking a different view of my service and my work than I did a year ago.

\* \* \*

These are three profiles of young officers, different but at the same time strikingly similar. What does the beginning of careers for young officers depend on? Certainly, on the higher-ups, their older colleagues, but primarily on the young officers themselves, on their persistence in service, enthusiasm, diligence and steady aspiration to ambitious goals. I do not have any doubts about the goals being ambitious....

9761

CSO: 2600/241

LAW ON PROTECTION OF STATE SECRETS PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 40, 18 Dec 82 pp 724-727 Item 271

[H. Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State; E. Duda, secretary of the Council of State]

[Text] The following is proclaimed for the purpose of ensuring the conditions for carrying out constitutional obligations concerning the protection of state and official secrets:

Article 1. The law defines the principles and manner of conduct in matters pertaining to state and official secrets.

Article 2. State secrets constitute information which when divulged to unauthorized persons can jeopardize defense, security, and other state interests specifically:

- 1) Defense preparation of the national economy and national administration; the type and quantity of armaments, defense equipment, numerical amounts, organization, structure, deployment, defense preparedness, as well as mobilization and operational plans of the armed forces; the potential and production capabilities as well as defense industry production volume and type; data on land-surveying, cartography, topography, gravimetry, earth magnetism, aerial photographs, photogrammetrics, topographic descriptions of buildings, military installations, and areas--all being of great significance for national defense, and cooperation with foreign nations regarding defense agreements;
- 2) concerning the organization of public law and order organs, equipping them, and forms and methods of operation, as well as data identifying the officials of these organs and the persons cooperating with the public law and order organs, and the carrying out of tasks which are within the intelligence and counter-intelligence framework; equipping of buildings, installations, and areas of great security significance; organization and system of the state's border security, as well as cipher and code communications of the armed forces, the public law and order forces, and other state services;
- 3) concerning research, projects, technological and structural work, investment projects, inventions and useable designs concerned with the defense and security of the state;

4) concerning production of fundamental significance to the national economy, the status and distribution of state material reserves essential for the national economy, defense and security of the state;

5) concerning the activities of banks involved in the issuance of fiat money, as well as valuable bank documents, safekeeping and transport of funds, credit situation of foreign exchange banks, bank services for selected units and other matters within the banks' scope and being of a particularly sensitive nature concerning state interests;

6) concerning preparation and negotiations in concluding international agreements specifically international trade agreements.

2. A state secret encompasses the contents of international agreements or information concerning international relations, if the secrecy of the agreement or information was stipulated by at least one of the two parties involved.

Article 3.1. Official secrets are those not stipulated as state secrets, of which the employee is cognizant of in order to carry out his duties in the state, cooperative, and collective organizational units, and disclosure of which can jeopardize and public interests, and the legitimate interests of the organizational unit or the citizen.

2. State, cooperative, and collective organizational unit directors will establish detailed statements regarding the type of information which constitutes official secrets, and which appears within the framework of the tasks of these units.

Article 4. Information constituting state and official secrets can be defined as being oral, written, a picture, a sketch, a sign, a sound, or contained in a mechanism, an instrument or other items, as well as being conveyed through any other means.

Article 5.1. It is the obligation of every individual who possesses state secrets to protect them.

2. The safeguarding of official secrets is the obligation of each employee regardless of his position, type and place of work, as well as the nature of work relations. The safekeeping of secrets is obligatory, both during and after working hours.

3. The principles governing exemption from the safekeeping of state and official secrets in court cases, and before other organs are governed separately by other statutes.

Article 6.1. The chief and central state organs, as well as the voivodship level regional state administrative organs establish lists as to the type of information which constitutes state secrets, as well as lists governing the types of information constituting state secrets of great significance to the defenses of the state, the armed forces, and the state security, encompassed within the scope of the activities of the organizational units subordinate to

them or supervised by them. These statements include specific definitions of information contained in article 2, statute 1:

2. The jurisdiction referenced in statute 1 regarding banks, is vested in the chairman of the Polish National Bank.

3. Lists referenced in statutes 1 and 2 call for coordination with the minister for internal affairs. Those containing information relating to the state's defense systems also require coordination with the minister of national defense. Lists containing foreign affairs information require coordination with the minister for foreign affairs.

4. Lists contained in statutes 1 and 2 are subject to announcement in official papers and other publications of the organs establishing the lists, insofar as the information lists concerning defense, the armed forces, and state security are not subject to dissemination.

5. The lists are subject to updating.

Article 7.1. As stipulated by article 11, an individual who has received authorization for access to state secrets can be granted access to such information. The authorization can be granted to the individual who:

- 1) is a Polish citizen,
- 2) can pledge his adherence to secrecy,
- 3) is involved in work which warrants access to state secrets.

2. Authorization for access to state secrets is subject to revocation if:

- 1) one of the conditions defined in statute 1 ceases to exist,
- 2) a request is made to the proper state organs by the individual concerned regarding the issuance of a passport for emigration purposes,
- 3) a request is made to the proper state organs by the individual concerned for permission to change citizenship.

3. Revocation of authorization referenced in statute 2 does not exempt the individual from the obligation to protect state secrets.

4. The authorization referenced in statute 1, as well as access to official secrets is to be granted by the appropriate organizational unit directors who possess the information.

5. The minister for internal affairs defines the specific principles and authorization procedures for access to state secrets, as well as the revocation of the authorization.



6. Lists of positions and functions, accomplishment of which authorizes the individual to state secret without the need for authorization are determined by:

- 1) The president of the Sejm--in the executive and consultative organs of the Sejm,
- 2) The chairman of the Council of State--in the organs established by the Council of State and supervised by or subordinate to it, as well as in the regional state administrative organs on the voivodship level,
- 3) The premier--in the chief and central state administrative organs, and in the regional state administrative organs at the voivodship level.

Article 8. The person granted access to state secrets must familiarize himself with the statute responsibilities, as well as with other regulations concerning the protection of state secrets, obligatory within the organizational units. He must also familiarize himself with lists of information considered to be state and official secrets. The familiarization data must be documented.

Article 9. The employee can be granted access exclusively to those state and official secrets which are within the framework of duties carried out by the employee.

Article 10. Individuals granted access to state and official secrets are obligated to comply with the necessary measures so as to prevent disclosure of information to unauthorized persons.

Article 11.1. State and official secrets can be disclosed to a foreign national only in cases where this is warranted by the drawing up, conclusion, or realization of international agreements. Disclosure of state secrets is carried out upon the basis of decisions by the appropriate chief or central state organ, and issued subject to agreement by the minister for internal affairs, while information relating to the state's defenses is disclosed subject to the agreement of the minister of national defense.

2. The disclosure of state and official secrets to foreign nationals in cases other than those referenced in statute 1, can be disclosed when warranted by the interests of the state. They can be disclosed with the consent of the minister for internal affairs and granted with the consent of the appropriate chief or central state organ.

Article 12. Documents containing state and official secrets are classified according to their content, or in compliance with the lists referenced in article 3, statute 2, and article 6, statutes 1 and 2, and designated with the appropriate provisos:

- 1) highly sensitive state secrets concerning the state's defenses, the armed forces, and state security are to be designated with the caveat "Highly sensitive secrets,"
- 2) the remaining state secrets are classified with the caveat "Secret,"

3) official secrets are to be classified with the caveat "Confidential."

Article 13.1. If it becomes necessary to make use of state or official secrets during the negotiation of international agreements being drawn up by the Polish People's Republic, documents obtained or sent abroad to conclude these agreements are designated with a proviso appropriate to their content and defined in article 12, governing stipulations in statutes 2 and 3.

2. Warsaw Pact regulations in effect are applied in order to designate state and official secrets intended for use by the Warsaw Pact nations.

3. The CEMA principles in effect are used to designate state and official secrets destined for use by CEMA members.

Article 14.1. Directors and employees of state, cooperative, and collective organizational units, as well as other individuals who acquire information concerning disclosure of information, loss, discovery or theft of documents, or other state secret items, or disclosure to unauthorized individuals are obligated to notify the public prosecutor or the Citizens' Militia immediately. In organizational units subordinate to the minister of national defense, they are obligated to notify the military prosecutor or the appropriate organ of the Army Security Service.

2. In cases occurring abroad, and as defined by statute 1, it is necessary to notify the individual in charge of the appropriate diplomatic bureau or the consulate of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 15.1. Information constituting state and official secrets is transmitted through channels which assure its security.

2. The minister for internal affairs defines the principles, the procedures and methods for the receipt, transport, publication, and protection of documents and other items which are considered state secrets.

3. The ministers of internal affairs and transportation define the methods for the transport of state secret documents and information through the use of the state transportation system.

4. The minister for internal affairs defines the principle for the transmittal of state and official secrets through the use of technical communications, and he also defines the principles for government communications organization and utilization.

5. The ministers of internal affairs and communications define the principles governing cooperation in the maintenance and exploitation of government communications.

6. The chief and central state organs together with the minister for internal affairs, define the principles of organization, operation, and protection of the cipher and code communications for the subordinate and supervised organizational units.

Article 17.1. In order to safeguard state secrets, the chief and central state organs and the regional state administrative organs on the voivodship level, as well as the directors of state enterprises will designate those buildings--photographing, filming, sketching, and drawing of which is forbidden with authorization.

2. The minister for internal affairs will define the standards and methods for identifying them.

3. The authorization referenced in statute 1 is to be granted by the appropriate chief and central state organs, as well as the voivodship level regional state administrative organs.

4. Specific rules and procedures for granting authorization, as referenced in statute 3 and in article 16 are defined by the chief and central state organs in agreement with the minister for internal affairs. If the authorization is to concern organizational units which possess highly sensitive state secrets concerning the defense of the state, and the armed forces, then it is coordinated with the minister for national defense.

Article 18.1. Supervision over the protection of state and official secrets is fulfilled by:

1) the chief and central state organs--in organizational units which are subordinate to or supervised by them,

2) regional voivodship level state administrative organs--in organizational units subordinate to people's councils,

3) unit directors--in the remaining state, cooperative, and collective organizational units.

2. The state organs and directors referenced in statute 1, will establish units for coordinating and supervising of state and official secrets and will ensure the terms essential for the protection of secrets in organizational units subordinate to and supervised by them.

Article 19.1. The minister for internal affairs will conduct overall coordination concerning the organization of state and official protection, and will define the specific principles and methods of conduct when dealing with state and official secrets.

2. The minister for internal affairs may announce proposals concerning the carrying out of supervision governing protection of state and official secrets in specific state, cooperative, and collective organizational units, and may delegate his representative to participate in the supervision.

Article 20.1. The minister of national defense together with the minister for internal affairs will outline specific principles and methods of conduct regarding highly sensitive state and official secrets concerning the state's defenses and the armed forces.

2. The chief and central state organs, and the regional state administrative voivodship level organs may issue specific regulations which govern the procedure and method of handling of state and official secret information in the subordinate and supervised units, as well as in units for which they are the founding organs if their activity warrants it.

3. The minister of foreign affairs and the minister of foreign trade establish in conjunction with the minister for internal affairs regulations and methods of conduct abroad in matters pertaining to state and official secrets.

Article 21.1. The minister of national defense defines the principle for the protection of state and official secrets, its organization and supervision, as well as the method of conduct concerning secret information including transmittal, receipt, and delivery of documents for the subordinate organizational units.

2. The regulations in article 7 statute 5, article 11 statute 2, article 15 statutes 2 and 4 through 6, as well as article 19 are not applicable to those organizational units subordinate to the minister of national defense.

Article 22.1. In the 19 April 1969 Penal Code, article 120 (Regulations Gazette number 13, item 94 from 1974; number 27, item 157 from 1979; number 15, item 97 from 1982; number 16, item 125) 15 and 16 are to be deleted.

2. Article XVI is to be deleted from the 19 April 1969 law governing the Penal Code (Regulations Gazette number 13, item 95).

Article 23. The law will become effective as of 1 July 1983.

12229

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# PROBLEMS IN CURRENT STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 20 Nov 82 pp 3-6

/Article by Ion Mitran: "Present Stage of Socialist Construction. Some Theoretical Problems"/

/Text/ The dialectical-materialist conception of the mechanism of social progress brings out some distinctive characteristics of the formation and development of socialist society, namely the ability of the subjective elements and the party of the working class to determine the objective laws of progress and act accordingly and to formulate at every stage the strategic aims of the new order's development, as well as the necessity of constantly evaluating the dialectical relationship between the past accomplishments and the present tasks and between the latter and the social-historical outlook.

The national and international experience acquired in socialist construction indicates some theoretical and practical requirements and the evolution of some criteria and values that always apply to the general dialectical process of socialist revolution and construction, so that in summarizing the radical economic, social, political and moral changes that have taken place in various countries and stages, some essential features or distinctive characteristics of socialist reality as a whole, as a new social order or system, are to be noted: Social management is the expression of the power of the working class in alliance with the other classes of workers. The functions of socialist democracy develop as the experience, initiative and will of the people take effect. The socialist economy is based upon social ownership and its development is planned. The new social status of the workers as collective owners of the production means as well as producers and direct beneficiaries of the national income gives rise to cooperative relations based upon social equity and justice and the principle of distribution according to work. The party of the working class is the political leader of society, and the socialist state, which is developing the new order, gradually evolves toward the society of self-management. Accordingly the disappearance of the exploiting classes, the formation of a new social structure based on friendly social classes, and the trend toward social leveling on the basis of the basic interests in common are original elements of real historical superiority. In the light of the principles of the new order and its results so far, no analysis of its past stages can ignore the effects of its origin in economic backwardness or underdevelopment, which was true of the prerevolutionary inheritance of several countries including Romania. That historical fact has been making it increasingly clear that because of its socially humane nature

the new order involves not only profound economic and political changes and a radical change in the old social and production relations but also the overall progress of the new society, which progress includes alike material and cultural experience, intensive development of socialist awareness, and growth of the personality in accordance with revolutionary-humanist values and criteria, so that socialism will become an all-inclusive reality.

#### Dialectical Relationship Between Development and Comprehensiveness

It goes without saying that in the spirit of materialist dialectics and the scientific plan governing construction of the new order, the political strategy necessarily includes continuing analysis of the course taken and determination, for every stage, of the basic objectives to be accomplished in keeping with the determined criteria, values and purposes.

The RCP presented such an analysis at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982. Approved as a document of the coming National Party Conference, Nicolae Ceausescu's speech is a telling summary of the present stage and a far-seeing view of the evolution of Romanian society based on the conclusion that "In a brief historical period Romania has passed through several stages and begun to construct the fully developed socialist society." (1)

In defining the content of the new stage, the RCP introduced into revolutionary theory and practice a concept that comprises and characterizes in a uniform and comprehensive view both the basic aim of the new stage and the main courses of action for decisive qualitative progress in the nation's evolution as a whole. Uniform in theory and practice, this strategy is aimed at qualitative changes in material existence, production, social structure, social management and people's way of life and thought in order to raise socialist Romania's standard of civilization. As the party secretary general pointed out, the strategic aim of building the fully developed socialist society involves "all aspects of social activity: material resources, management and development of democracy, the growing importance of science, and ideological and political-educational work." (2)

Such an objective emphasizes improvement of socialist production relations and harmonious development of a society that is making steady progress because it is the product of interaction of organized people conscious of the goals that have been set.

The party's conception of the present and future stages is based on the principle of general, balanced development of the national economy and its various sectors (industry, agriculture, transportation) accompanied by growth of science, education and culture, more democratic social management, and institution of socialist structures, relations and standards of behavior. These distinctive elements of the level or stage of civilization as well as their quantitative and especially qualitative expression make it clear that Romania has surpassed the characteristics of a developing country in many respects, thanks to the untiring efforts of the entire people, who confidently followed the policy of intensive expansion of the productive forces and the technical-material base. In this connection, when the 12th Party Congress assigned the task of joining the ranks of the medium developed countries and achieving a new quality of life and work in all fields, it stipulated that "During the current five-year plan the critical part in the dynamism of the Romanian economy is to be played by increased

Repeating, in 1843, the statements of the professor of "Saint Sava," who referred to some tendentious and defamatory assertions, Mihail Kogalniceanu carried on and exemplified the idea: "Foreigners told us all these things. Our origin was denied, our name was changed, our land was torn up, and our rights were trampled upon merely because we had no awareness of our nationality." Although the conclusion is slightly exaggerated in order to stress the value of the incentive to learn history more emphatically, the great patriot's statements were aimed at the persistently expressed foreign opinions about the Romanians' origin, their alleged "immigration" from south of the Danube in the 13th century, and the resulting situation for the Romanians in Transylvania, whose right to be a political nation was not recognized, etc. The author referred in the same light to the seizures of Romanian land at the beginning of the 18th century.

As M. Kogalniceanu said in the opening lecture of the national history course given at the Iasi Mihaileana Academy, "After the beauties of the world and the wonders of nature, nothing is more interesting, greater or more worthy of attention than history." Nothing indeed seemed then, or today, more precious and "more worthy of attention" than that *magistra vitae et gentium*, a constant of our distinctive nature, that molded and personalized the image of our people in such an original way. There is so much human truth and Romanian truth in Kogalniceanu's words that they must not for a moment be considered merely the very appropriate utterance of a noble patriotic thought on a festive occasion, but the expression of a unanimous conviction of the Romanian community about one of the fundamental values of mankind that had always guided their creative efforts. For history has constantly accompanied our existence throughout the long and troubled course of the process of self-knowledge and self-determination, from Decabal's symbolic gesture to today's tireless struggle in defense of our national existence and dignity.

Employed in its many formative-educational uses and its huge emotional charge, history legitimately and necessarily became an immense field for study which, constantly illuminated from more and more angles, was generously offered to scientific research with all right and obligations of exploration. The builders of modern Romania, who wrote but also acted, created the substance of our national history and rightly considered it "the foremost book of a nation," "the palladium of the nationality," "the basic book," and "the magic mirror of the past centuries, the true image of the present time, and the most precious key ... to the secrets of the future." The same Aaron Florian, N. Balcescu's teacher, said "The nation without a national history is as lost among the other nations, a stranger in its very own land, ignorant of the path it followed before and lost on the road it has taken now. As M. Kogalniceanu carried on the idea, "From it we shall learn what we have done and what we still have to do, through it we shall foresee the future, and through it we shall be Romanians... History is the measure or meter that tells whether a people are going forward or backward. But ask history and you will know whence we came and where we are going... the past and the future are our whole being and the means of knowing ourselves."

These words did not merely describe the distinctive features of a discipline that was to be placed on an adequate foundation. It was defined then on the basis of the realities of the period, a noble conception wherein history was called upon to weld the past, present and future closely together and to justify and enhance confidence in the power and vitality of the national actions and aspirations.

labor productivity, steady gains in net industrial output and agricultural production, and maximum sales of Romanian products on the world market. We shall have to secure more intensive development of science as a stimulant to socioeconomic progress, of domestic energy and raw material reserves, and of agriculture as a sector critical to construction of the fully developed socialist society and to the advance toward communism.\* (3)

Continuing emphasis upon growth of the productive forces is one of the theoretical and practical-political problems of Romania's transition to a medium developed country, and in that connection the party feels that Romanian socialist society as a rationally and scientifically constructed society will advance to higher stages only by constantly providing the resources for expanded reproduction and extensive accumulation, while securing the effectiveness of all investments, increasing profitability and raising the national income as a source of uninterrupted expanded reproduction and constant improvement of the entire people's living standard as well as a basis for consolidating national sovereignty and independence.

On the practical as well as the theoretical level the depth and significance of the criteria and values of fully developed socialism inject a fertile, innovating note into the play of the great constructive ideas of our time, into the discussions and confrontations concerning the problems of the social future. The broader scope of social theory as well as practice itself indicate the dialectical unity between the categories of development and comprehensiveness. The strategy of overall development of Romanian society fully reflects the content, aims, direction and purpose, quality and nature of the development of the new order in Romania. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "If we had said that the future goal is purely and simply the development of socialism, we would not have given any clear direction to party and state activity. That could have been taken to mean that it is sufficient to accomplish an intensive national economic development, which I do not consider entirely in keeping with our basic aim. We are undertaking an all-around development of society and all social activities, economic, scientific and cultural, as well as improvement of management, formation of the new man, and promotion of socialist ethics and justice." (4)

In this view development and comprehensiveness are interdependent categories reflecting the dialectics of all fields and aspects of socialist construction: an advanced economy supported by a modern industry and an intensive, highly productive agriculture; development of science, education and culture; intensive promotion of the scientific-technical revolution; people's greater material and cultural welfare; improvement of production relations and the whole system of scientific social organization and management; intensification of socialist democracy and workers self-management; development of the masses' socialist awareness and generalization of the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice.

These many courses of simultaneous social action have been making the harmony and proportioned quality of development a center of theoretical attention as one of the most important political problems. Relations between economic sectors and between the technical-material base of society and its superstructure as well as evaluation of the material and human resources are of increasing importance in the strategy of the new order's progress. On the basis of the criteria



and values of the present stage of socialist construction in Romania, the party has developed a policy that keeps all fields in sight. This strategy is essentially humanistic because it views the accumulation policy, material production, technology and the socialist economy as a whole not as ends in themselves but second to people's lives, their social relations, and their free expression as makers of their own destiny and a fair and just civilization.

This provides a definitive practical as well as theoretical answer to some economic, vulgar-materialistic ideas current for a while in social-political thought and to some more or less recent criticisms of socialism. As we know the new order has been and still is accused of having practiced or preached a "alienation" of the economic from other areas of society and of having been and still being dependent upon some purely economic views. This is an obviously tendentious opinion stemming from the same strategy to discredit the new social system, although it is based upon some failures and difficulties or theoretical points that are biased or rather in the process of clarification. In connection with such critics it should be mentioned that often and not by chance they "confuse" intermediate stages or temporary difficulties and contradictions of the new order with its ultimate goals or with the nature and principles of socialism.

The RCP certainly does not regard comprehensiveness as an eclectic combination of courses of action or the mathematical sum of processes interpreted as evolving in parallel. Constituting a uniform whole, those courses and processes are interdependent, constantly interact and will make the general developmental trend a proportioned, balanced, rational and socially and humanly effective one. Of course in this connection the party tries to set some priorities, allotting a certain share in the development to each aspect or objective according to scientific and realistically evaluated criteria. Thus construction of a modern economy meeting the requirements of quality and efficiency depends upon but also affects the development of science, education and culture, improvement of production relations and the organizational and administrative structure, improvement of people's professional, political and ideological qualifications, and implementation of the socialist principle of distribution and social justice, while all of those have consequences for material production. Nicolae Ceausescu said on this subject that "We have qualified our future society with the term 'fully developed' so that there will be no misunderstandings, no overlooking any aspect of the activity, and no conclusion drawn to the effect that by developed socialist society we mean only or particularly the development of the material base." (5)

Accordingly the present stage of socialism cannot be reduced to any one social activity. The priority placed in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan on development of the productive forces through industrialization, transition to intensive agriculture, and growth of the qualitative indicators and those of economic effectiveness based on the data of the scientific-technical revolution serves both the specific requirements for surpassing the level of a developing country and the dialectical-materialist and historical conception that material production and its quality and level are the ultimately controlling factors and the foundations of historical progress.

As for the theoretical analysis and scientific interpretation of the concept of a fully developed socialist society, note that Romania's ideological front and

researchers in the social sciences have not yet provided us with substantiated analyses of the factors, ways and means that further the aims of the new stage. Of course it is not a matter of giving a theoretical-abstract answer based on hypotheses and wishes but of examining in a realistic, multidisciplinary and yet uniform way the diverse and complex economic, social and political problems of the stage of socialist construction in Romania and the inherent relationships among the various sectors and fields. Although there are noteworthy studies and works on this subject, some of their authors hastily and automatically identify the ultimate aims of the stage, that is the expectations, with the accomplished fact itself, while the ideas, sometimes insufficiently correlated with experiences, come close to being treated as presupposed realities. Now such hasty judgments and anticipations betray a voluntarist approach and insufficiently intensive study for theoretical generalization of the processes characteristic of the present stage in the light of the strategic goal and in constant reference to the actual accomplishments and the difficulties and contradictions inherent in progress toward higher stages.

And as the party secretary general pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, there is also a certain lag in theoretical and ideological work behind the material resources of Romanian socialist society. The need of closing this gap and making theoretical and ideological work a more active influence upon Romania's social activity requires a bolder approach to the new in revolutionary theoretical thought, because "The new stage of Romania's social development requires us to analyze the facts thoroughly and to draw the necessary theoretical and practical conclusions for future activity." (6)

The theoretical value of the concept of a fully developed society clearly contrasts with older or more recent options and strategies expressed in social-political thought or occurring in social practice. Of course the concept of construction of the fully developed socialist society serves Romania's requirements and distinctive features because it was developed under Romanian conditions and applied in that context.

Actually, more general historical experience and the trends and processes characteristic of the world of today show continuing efforts to find rational alternatives to the social expectations and to overcome the bad effects of one-sided development, effects strikingly illustrated by the present crisis of world capitalism and other contemporary negative phenomena. Such realities of the capitalist world as the permanent gaps between economic sectors and regions or areas, various forms of crisis conditions, incomplete and irregular exploitation of material and human resources, irrational consumption, discrepancies and inequities between the incomes of various social groups, pollution and deterioration of the environment, etc., all proving that one-sidedness generates anomalies, indicate the necessity of starting a new economic and political order and abolishing the system of exploitation and oppression of any kind. The worldwide underdevelopment caused by imperialist colonial exploitation ultimately results from the one-sidedness imposed by the big monopolies, the unfair international division of labor, and subordination of the peoples' economic, social and cultural affairs to the narrow, selfish and exploiting purposes peculiar to capitalism.

In general, theoretical-ideological and philosophical examination of the dialectical relationship between development and comprehensiveness can permanently enrich social-political thought and bring out new aspects of the socioeconomic processes characteristic of the contemporary world.

## Inherent Unity of Theory and Practice

As we know, the problems of socialism are subjects of extensive theoretical and ideological disputes. The various viewpoints and ideas cover a wide range of stands, especially concerning the stages of socialist construction and the very idea and concept of socialism. Naturally the social-political literature, especially in socialist countries, contains various approaches based on general laws, specific facts, prejudices as well as objective judgments, and predetermined systems. Of course any problem in connection with the new order requires specific investigations and adequate objective generalizations that to a great extent determine the answers to the more general problem of its prospects under present conditions, and social theory cannot underrate or evade that problem without risk of lagging behind or of one-sided, subjectivist treatment.

The objective laws and social dialectics focus theoretical and practical attention on the problem of correct and realistic evaluation of the stage of social development. As we know, when Marx anticipated some of the effects of the revolution accomplished by the working class' seizure of political power, he predicted that socialism as a society in constant action and evolution would take a realistic and scientific attitude toward its progressively growing reproduction. Therefore Marx' dialectical conclusion is vital to contemporary revolutionary thought, because constructive understanding of the present reality must also include understanding of the denial of that reality and its necessary evolution, since any social process is examined in a state of change, as it is tending toward newer, higher forms.

Such a requirement is particularly justified and clear because in socialist society (as indicated by various good and bad features of its formation) social contradictions may evolve toward the stage of opposition and conflict unless they are discovered in time and resolved in the right way at the best time. We are not taking up the causes and origin of the contradictions here. As we know, against the general background of overall harmony between the production relations and the nature of the productive forces, between the base and the superstructure, the socialist unit develops by purposefully overcoming the various contradictions in a "controlled" way that are otherwise inevitable as expressions of the objective dialectical laws. But the contradictions and difficulties at any given point in socialist construction are not to be equated with its essence and nature, as some authors and at times even some Marxists and communists do who still harbor an obsolete picture, however idyllic, and formulas or concepts that are outmoded by experience.

Socialism is making a historic qualitative leap by its achievements but also by the new, rational way it resolves and overcomes its own contradictions and difficulties and by its ability to set aside what is old and no longer appropriate. The rate of the new order's progress is closely related to "discovery" of the harmonious subjective-objective relationship and direct and constant manifestation of the ability to discern the degree of dependence between the social wish (aspiration) and reality, an ability that must be manifested in the strategic policy of comprehensive, all-around socioeconomic development.

The scheduling of the new order's progress is based on the obligation to seek out and theoretically substantiate the best alternative that is socially and humanly justified in the light of communist construction. Clearly the rate of

progress can be retarded or artificially hastened if this obligation is not observed, and both variants have bad social consequences sooner or later. In consideration of those possible consequences, the party of the working class can take steps to discover the real reserves that society has in order to best exploit them so that practical demonstration of the new order's superiority will mean confirmation of its truly humanistic mission. Theoretical-ideological clarification can help in this way to exploit the possibilities that may remain latent and ultimately conflict with the requirements of social progress. The theory based on the scientific conception brings any aspects of reality, good or bad, out of their penumbra cones and the best solution of the problems, as well as notice of the possible obstacles and difficulties and their consequent prevention or elimination, are fully available for social-political action.

Under these circumstances the revolutionary theory is fundamentally enriched, in the first place, by generalization of the new experience acquired in socialist reform of society, in view of the vast diversity of the situations in which the working class and its political parties act and the differentiated process of socialist construction. Hence also the vital importance of the particular experience of each country and each party in the revolutionary process, and the necessity of making the best use of the specific-historical conditions for the socio-economic development of the new order. Of course the diversity of this experience invalidates any restrictive assertion about any one way or any one socialism to be considered true or real.

The RCP feels that the theory of scientific socialism to the effect that the transition to the new order of the peoples will take place under very diverse conditions and will lead to new forms and procedures has been fully confirmed by experience, and that this process has been contributing to the enrichment of the treasury of revolutionary theory and practice because socialism is actually a dynamic process of resolving economic, social, political and other problems under the specific-historical conditions characteristic of each country and each stage.

In the light of the RCP's theoretical conception, to treat the new course of history in the most comprehensive and differentiated way and to interpret the qualitative changes in human existence and awareness is to determine the dialectics of the struggle between the progressive, revolutionary forces and the backward ones and to plot the course of the great contemporary ideological and political confrontations. In speaking of this process, Nicolae Ceausescu said that the great changes of the present period require thorough knowledge of the factors and laws basic to the world's development and understanding of the fact that social development confirms the viability of the revolutionary conception of the world and life and that in a regular way and regardless of the obstacles and difficulties that may arise, mankind is progressing with firm steps toward the classless society and toward a society of social justice.

Since the struggle between the new and the old is and will be a dialectical law of development, the party is trying to do away with the theories and ideas that are out of step with the new historical and social conditions through ideological work based on study and understanding of the new phenomena and the new discoveries of science and human knowledge in general, and it is consistently promoting all that is objectively necessary for social progress. In stressing the

particular importance of the theoretical and ideological effort to analyze all internal and international phenomena in the spirit of the dialectical-materialist conception, the party secretary general pointed out that it is not innovation that we have to fear but stagnation in thinking and obsolete methods.

The dialectics of the development of socialist society is in fact the expression of the truth that no social-political system, including socialism, can be created all at once according to any universally valid "recipe." As it goes through particular stages generated by specific conditions, socialist society emerges in the course of its continuing improvement. Accordingly the RCP's conception of construction of the fully developed socialist society allows for the fact that socialism has thoroughly resolved, in the masses' interest, a number of vital problems of the vast majority of the people, but in the meantime, due to subjective as well as objective reasons, the new order has to cope with certain difficulties, problems not completely solved or whose solution depends upon overcoming the "heritage" of the past, especially in connection with the technical-material base of society.

It is true that errors or abuses have been committed in socialist construction, including Romania's, along with the progress that has been made, and they were discussed at the time in order to draw the appropriate conclusions. One of these conclusions was to the effect that disregard of general laws and of the particular conditions can create serious problems in socialist development, as demonstrated by the mistakes and difficulties that occur in a country. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The difficulties that arise are not due to socialism or too much socialism but to aberrations and errors, to violation of some basic principles of scientific socialism, or to disregard of general laws or of the specific realities in a given country. Therefore they are caused by failure to carry out the socialist principles consistently." (7)

On the international level, some socialist theorists who do not distinguish the natural relationships between the general and particular resort to vague expressions and ideas to describe the socialist society constructed in a given country. Thus there are authors who find elements of socialist procedure only in countries where communist parties are in power, while there are also tendencies toward restrictive interpretation by denying the socialist character of a given country's procedure on the pretext that it conflicts with criteria regarded as universally valid. But there is no doubt that without examination of the specific content of the actual social processes, no approach is productive in itself, nor any discussion concentrated solely upon general principles or ideas and concepts divorced from practice. The RCP feels the logical conclusion to be drawn from this is the requirement to intensify efforts toward further theoretical generalization of experience in building the new order.

The principle of continuity of the revolutionary process is of both theoretical and practical importance in this connection, which principle also applies to the present historical stage of the new order in the areas of both the productive forces and the structural changes in society, the social and production relations, social management, and the way of life. It is against this background that the fully developed socialist society, a concept adopted by the RCP and entered in its program as a strategic aim serving the principles of scientific socialism, is being accomplished. The RCP proceeds from the consideration that no form of socialist construction nor any designation of a given stage can be

considered absolute. Actual experience and the revolutionary process prove to be ever more comprehensive and richer in determinations than the theoretical concepts or ideas that express them, making it clear that any form of socialist construction that is actually accomplished in a country and meets the historical requirements contributes its share to enrich the treasury of revolutionary theory. In fact critical analysis that is open to internal social experience as well as international always leads to ideological development according as the national and international practical social experience is enlarged. Placing special emphasis for this purpose upon discriminating incorporation, in its own ideology, of the new values of economic, social, political and human development and of the scientific advances, upon elimination of the old backward elements, and upon substantiated opposition to the adverse theories, the RCP plays an active, militant part in the contemporary world's exchange of ideas in the context of enrichment of revolutionary theory and diversification of the paths of social progress.

Analysis on this basis of the phenomena and changes in Romanian socialist society and in the present-day world has enabled the party and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, to take an innovating approach to some major theoretical and practical problems. Important subjects like the dialectics of the general-particular and objective-subjective relationships in social experience, construction and development of the technical-material base of the new order, the configuration of Romania's social and class structure, amplification of socialist democracy, replacement of the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat with that of the workers democracy or the workers democratic state, functions of the nation in the present period and the solution of the minorities problem in Romania, origin and mechanism of contradictions in socialism, evolution and complexity of the formation of the advanced consciousness, characteristic socioeconomic processes of the present time and the requirements for application of new principles in international relations, etc. are major contributions to theoretical generalization of social experience.

One of the features of the RCP's stand on theoretical work and analysis of practical experience is its receptiveness to facts and its analysis of them in a revolutionary spirit, on the principle that it is every party's right to characterize the socialism it is building in any given way. This idea is generated by the very complexity of the realities of the world of today, which present the picture of radical and dynamic changes under the influence and impact of the socialist order. Constant adjustment to these changes is especially necessary because realistic value judgments of human development and the revolutionary process as a whole or according to geographic areas cannot be supported by speculations and circumstantial hypotheses, that is by prejudices or theories that are based (as we often find in contemporary confrontations of ideas) upon hasty subjective generalizations. It is true that some (like the ideological exponents of the old society) resort to such procedures in order to support theories that distort the processes of human development and try to discredit the revolutionary prospects and minimize the gains of socialism. In directly praising capitalism or, in more "modern" fashion, preaching the "convergence" of the two systems in a so-called "new social synthesis," approaches of this kind are far from opening up any optimistic or rational social prospects, as the French political scientist Edgar Morin thinks they do, speaking from anticommunist positions in his work "To Come Out of the 20th Century." Among other things, he

writes about so-called shifts, reforms and cures of Marxism, which remains "blind and deaf" to the tensions of reality.

Viable answers to the problem of the social future naturally require renunciation of prejudices because, the quoted author says, "Poverty of thought and wealth of political illusions" lead to deceptions and deceptive theories. To be sure rational criticism of the past or the measures of the present (as practiced by Marxism and scientific socialism) is one thing, and total denial of the results of socialist construction according to predetermined patterns is another. As we know, the principles and ideas resulting from conformity to the objective trends of social development always prove their worth and truly revolutionary character. But fear of the revolutionary expectations of social changes, common to many of the authors who see in socialism and its ideology "anything" but what they actually are, causes some to project the processes of human development beyond their social effect. To this end theoretical works like the baldly entitled "Proletariat's Farewell" by Andre Gorz or "Postsocialism" by Alain Touraine forecast a future "programmed society" in the effort to justify the theory of "melting of the social conflicts" and the "entry into crisis" of both the constituent values of the labor movement's ideology and practice and the Marxist categories of "class," "taking power," "the state" etc. The inconsistency of the system of thought or ideological conception presented or propagated by such authors results from the many confused solutions or general-abstract pleas for multiplication of so-called "emotional human communities" regarded as socially amorphous entities "immune" to the ideology of revolution and socialism.

But the historical-materialist conception of human civilization bears out the fact that in the world of today, although social progress is uneven and not constantly advancing but also knows periods of stagnation or even of retreat, the basic direction of social evolution is toward structures based on justice and equity, social freedom and national independence, factors for progress that anticipate the revolutionary advance toward socialism of the peoples.

Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It is our duty to act to improve our activity and to successfully develop socialist construction, while also making an extensive theoretical, ideological, political and educational effort to arm the party and the people with a clear perspective and to contribute to the enrichment of the common treasury of revolutionary theory and practice, to the rejection of antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda, and to the greater prestige of socialism and communism in the world."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech on the Present Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and the Party's Theoretical and Ideological Problems and Political and Educational Activity," Political Publishing House, 1982, p 18.
2. Ibidem, p 57.
3. Ibidem, p 24.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 7, Political Publishing House, 1973, p 546.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech on the Present Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and the Party's Theoretical and Ideological Problems and Political and Educational Activity," Political Publishing House, 1982, p 57.

6. Ibidem, p 56.

7. Ibidem, p 59.

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## IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF HISTORY OF COUNTRY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 20 Nov 82 pp 14-16

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gheorghe Platon, Iasi Al. I. Cuza University: "Ideological-Educational Function of National History"]

[Text] The appeal to history has become commonplace everywhere, but perhaps nowhere but Romania has it become an aspect of contemporary experience. Of course that is to be explained by the conditions under which the revolutionary process of Romanian social reform is taking place, by the place of history, ties with the past and tradition in the Romanian intellectuality, and by the need to assert our continuity and to define our personality. There is no question that a decisive part in this is played by the chief of our party and state himself, Nicolae Ceausescu, who assigns an important role to history and keeps pleading passionately for promotion of its values and use of the sources of wisdom that it contains. It is not a question here of a mere intellectual or sentimental provision for the many values of history. The appeal to history and the perseverance to be seen in the party secretary general's activity stem from his profound understanding of the reality of our existence, which demands mobilization of energies and elevation of the consciousness to complete understanding of the historic tasks of the period wherein we live.

With an enthusiasm equalled only by his high dedication to the people's cause, always and everywhere, in his word and writings, the nation's president has bound the realities of contemporary Romanian experience closely to their historical roots, broadening the horizon of understanding and illuminating the prospects of the future. His entire work, the result of a broad theoretical vision, a profound civic awareness, and revolutionary firmness, is a living expression of the necessities and ideals of our period. The everyday fact is framed in historical perspective and it is judged, evaluated and exploited in all its aspects. The historical analysis, heated by the consuming fire of a high patriotism, is accurately made. The appeal to understanding, dignity and truth runs like a red thread through a work of notable scientific, theoretical and practical value. From the definition of history's role as a science of the present, as an instrument of knowledge, collaboration and world reform, and as an effective educational tool for forming the new man to the indication of the place history should take in the constructive efforts of our period, nothing has remained outside the field of observation. The pleas for true history and mastery of its lessons are significant in this respect, as well as those for reason,

moderation and humanity in a world from which arbitrariness and force have not disappeared.

At the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, in speaking again of the precious heritage of Romania's past, Nicolae Ceausescu stated once more his noble conception of history and its role in Romanian society of today: "There can be no patriotic socialist education without knowledge and reverence of the past and of our ancestors' labor and struggles."

Our era's interest in the study of history has been faithfully expressed both in the organization of historical education and in the development of scientific research and the use of the tradition and legacy of history. To an equal extent this interest has been and continues to be expressed in extensive discussions and statements of positions pointing out the educational values of history within the realities of our times. The facts are well known. The materials on the role and functions of history are too numerous to mention here at least. The discussion can go on to advantage both to specify the theoretical trends and to point out the practical aspect of history and historical education in reference to the evolution of social development and the increasingly broad and comprehensive social and political requirements.

On the general level of comprehension, perhaps the legitimacy and purpose of our option for history should be explained more clearly as well as its deep foundations, which belong to Romanian society and make it unique. The specialists, but not they alone, are impressed by the great values and importance that history and the study and lessons of history assume in the periods of transition from one order to another. It is no accident, to be sure, that Romanian history acquired its status as a science in the period when the Romanian nation's personality emerged and the national consciousness took form. The nation's history was an effective instrument at the time for asserting the native values and national spirit.

A treasury of wisdom and profound human experience, Romanian history was conceived by its founders as a weapon. It acquired an essentially militant character as an answer to those who denied the Latin origin of the language and the continuity of the Romanians and their right to freedom, unity and independence. "I resolved to undertake this work," as Miron Costin explained his decision to write the history of his country, because "I cannot bear to leave this people still unwritten whom a number of writers have covered with infamy." When Samuil Micu in his turn pointed out the role of history as a teacher of all things and expressed his intention to make the history of his people known, he exclaimed with pride, "It is a great thing to be born a Romanian," while Petru Maior, an ardent spirit, turned the polemic blade of his work against the writer who, with no regard for the truth, engaged in "vomiting on the Romanians with their pens." With the richer experience of the time when he wrote (1836), Aaron Florian explained the need of historical knowledge by pointing out that a people who do not know their history "can be told contemptuously by any other nation, 'Your origin is unknown and neither the name you bear nor the land on which you live is yours. You were fated to be just as you are. Forget your origin, change your name, or take the one I give you. Get up and leave the land on which you live, which is not yours, and labor no more in vain because you cannot be better than you are.'"

It was not by mere chance, at the time when the Romanians were defining their personality and asserting their national conscious and historical rights, that theories of a pronounced political character were concocted to contest the historical grounds for the Romanians' national aspirations and demands. The builders of modern Romania did not confine the study of history to controversial problems of origin and continuity. Using its inexhaustible resources, they generalized it in the many intellectual activities to enable the consciousness to grasp the basic requirements of the time in which they lived, to educate minds and spur energies to accomplish the vast undertakings that confronted Romanian society at the time, such as modernization, with all the endless implications of that complex and comprehensive process, unity and independence, and integration in the cycle of mankind's values. Deeds were accomplished with the modern means of the time that were almost incredible to those who did not know the people and their ability to unite and act together at highly critical times.

In the achievement of that admirable unity of thought and feeling wherein Moldavia was united with Wallachia and later independence was won, the experience and lessons of history entered the national consciousness and generated the necessary strength and wisdom. The patriotism with which those generations helped to build modern Romania was produced by the close tie between past and present, in the accomplishment of which the nation's history played an essential part, and the commitment to the present construction was inseparable from the unswerving confidence in the destinies of future Romania. The deeds are particularly noteworthy because Romanian society was divided then by irreconcilable class interests, and progress was made despite a ruthless class struggle and at the cost of heavy sacrifices.

Recognized very early for its virtues as an ideological, social and moral force, history enjoyed a privileged status in the thought and writing of our statesmen and scholars. As D. Onciul wrote with conviction, "A people's interest in their history is the surest measure of their cultural level and their civilization." For the scholar T. Vianu history was also "the basic element of culture," and knowledge of it was "an attribute of purposeful existence." As an inexhaustible treasury of human experience, history was also the most effective tool of education, because of all the sciences of man and society "it is the most comprehensive and capacious." (M. Berza) It combines the most varied aspects of the historical process, which it interrelates and explains one by another, feeding, in a sense, upon the substance of them all. Moreover history adds solidarity with the generations before us to solidarity with the present. It lends another dimension to the human personality, supports it morally and intellectually, and makes it better control, understand and serve the present.

We have formulated the foregoing opinions in order to present the conclusion as to their timeliness, as to the particular impact of these traits peculiar to history upon the consciousness of our time, and as to the broad significance the noble messages of history have acquired in posterity.

Our present historical period, as an expression of a higher order, is reliving and amplifying on a new level of material and cultural civilization the social and political problems of the period wherein modern Romania was formed. Radical changes have taken place in the material and cultural structure of society. Revolutionary in nature, they have lent Romania's contemporary civilization and

prestige high and hitherto unknown values. In the course of this vast renovating process, effected in the spirit of the national tradition and character and requiring the entire people's purposeful commitment, the national personality was more intensively accentuated and the people's cohesion and solidarity with the minorities on the one native land were consolidated.

Under these conditions of creative ebullience, assertion of the native spirit and traditions, and new Romania's spectacular integration in the economic, political and cultural cycle of the contemporary world, the old, long outmoded theories are being revised and new ones are being constructed that distort the basic truths of Romanian history. The facts cannot be fortuitous now any more than they were at the beginnings of our modern existence. In their implications these theories, which have nothing in common with science or scientific truth, contest the very foundations of our historical existence and of its unity. It is asserted, for example, that there is no bond of continuity between Geto-Dacians, Daco-Romans and Romans, that the Romanians "immigrated" to their own country from somewhere south of the Danube, that the unification in 1600 was an "adventurist act of conquest of foreign territories," that the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859 was an "act of historical regression" allegedly "interrupting" the uniform development of the "Moldavian nation," that the big multinational empires played a "progressive and liberating" role on behalf of the subject nations while the dismantling of those empires and the formation or completion of the national and independent states was an act of "historical regression," etc.

As we mention these facts we realize how timely the comments made by Aaron Florian in their time still are and what a great need Romanian society has for history, for its lessons and experience, for the truths comprised in it, and for restoration of the truths of the past according to contemporary needs and requirements.

The vast process of reform that is going on without interruption is inconceivable without the unreserved and purposeful participation of the entire nation, firmly welded by identity of interests due to the disappearance of the exploiting classes. History, with its vast resources, is indispensable to this end. Now more than ever it has become a means to knowledge of the present, for purposeful commitment to construction of the new life and for civic and political education. On the level of our period and its extensive possibilities, an effort is being made today that carries on those of the generations that laid the foundations of modern Romania -- on a wider scale of course, and in greater proportions.

The tasks of history as a means of education and as a science are especially important today because the consciousness of our period and of socialist civilization is an essentially new and revolutionary attribute. They demand great theoretical and practical competence. The people of our times cannot be content with the sentimental incentive and impulses of history. They need rational explanations that can justify the courses we are taking and prove the sincerity of the methods we have adopted to construct our new life in the spirit of the tradition and personality of the Romanian people, but also in that of respect for other peoples. The study of history provides a wealth of experience upon which we now base our accomplishments and our policy of creating a new world. Our party secretary general's advice is clear in that respect: "By virtue of its

conclusions, history is called upon to support the improvement of society today, the relations between states and nations, and peaceful collaboration among the peoples of the world. Correct and principled interpretation of the facts of history is vitally important for eliminating the sources of the long-standing distrust and animosity among peoples."

If it is to be effective and useful and serve these noble requirements of the times, education through history also requires theoretical ability and complete knowledge of the facts. The history teacher or scientific researcher must be a politician par excellence, firmly rooted in the realities of our time and keeping in step at the rate required by the times in which we are living. Revaluation of the disciplines and their continuing correlation with the new needs are primary requirements for that purpose. The developmental rate of historical science is accelerated in close coordination with the greater speed of the changes that are taking place under our eyes. The facts are accumulating, the horizon is expanding, and new documents, methods and trends are appearing. Revaluation means departure from routine, elimination of stereotypes and conventionalism, and restoration to history of all that was deleted from ignorance or misunderstanding of the facts. We must admit that literature has advanced more rapidly in this direction than history.

The initial period of our era, when denial was a natural attitude, has given way to the times of today, characterized by balance and maturity, when the facts however serious must be investigated, appraised, placed in context and analyzed in their implications and consequences. We learn lessons from historical experience not by evading the difficult facts but by stressing the value of the experience. Perhaps it would be sufficient to mention here what serious damage was done to our ability to understand Romania's development in the second half of the 19th century by the tendency to modernize and the fact that, in the absence of any balanced analysis, the period was studied and characterized on the sole basis of the class character of the regime inaugurated in 1866. Consequently the many results of the accelerated historical development and completed construction of the state along administrative, economic and political lines were overlooked or minimized for quite a while. Insufficient attention was paid to the extent to which the consolidation of the state structures led to consolidation of the nation, permitted a firmer foreign policy in keeping with the interests of the Romanian public, made it possible to create conditions for the completion of unity in 1918, etc.

Once it is known, historical truth is a powerful stimulant to rapprochement and understanding. Unfortunately, as we have noted, there is no shortage of those who distort the facts of Romanian history out of ignorance, lack of correct information, or other reasons. We do not think it necessary to answer all of them. The best reply is our presence here on our ancestral land, and it has been and will be given not only by the deeds of the people but by the historical works written in the above-mentioned spirit, and by extending the dialogue with the many who know, as we do, how to make of history, its lessons and its study a connecting bridge to create the climate of confidence and security to which mankind aspires today.

The historian as propagandist and scientist must show the same precision in analysis and in judgments. He is responsible not only to today's generations but to the future ones as well. Historical truth therefore is not to suit any momentary interest but must endure, be verified, and accepted in the future too.

Romanian history is the history of the Romanian people's struggle for survival, for freedom, independence and unity, and for a better life in the community of peoples of the free world. Therefore with whatever arguments we are confronted we must follow the constant advice of the party secretary general to write and propagate history as it was in order to strengthen the consciousness of socialist patriotism in a context where, as in the period of the birth and advancement of the Romanian nation, there is no lack of voices denying historical truths. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "History must present the entire process of the revolutionary struggle based on scientific analysis of the social reality, and it must present the facts not according to people's subjective wishes, political needs of the moment, or circumstantial criteria but as they happened and in keeping with the real truth."

As a servant of history and schoolman I express my conviction, sincerely formulated by many of my colleagues, that the history of our days is history. Therefore in its investigation, which should be the object of more persevering efforts, the proper methodology should be used that can create a uniform overall picture. The contemporary history lessons differ too little in the way they are organized in textbooks and taught in schools from those for the study and teaching of scientific socialism, creating confusion and difficulties for both teachers and pupils.

I think it is clear that the tasks and responsibilities of history are considerably greater now that it has become an instrument of instruction and patriotic ideological indoctrination instead of a study discipline. It is the fundamental role of the schools to train high-grade specialist capable of competent use of the historical materialism essential to our times and the society in which we live. In the didactic-educational process those without a calling or proper qualification cannot meet the high and noble responsibility of educators. In view of the revolutionary times in which we live, the history teachers' tasks are like those of the "propaganda commissars" in the 1848 revolution, "priests of the revolutionary constitution," as N. Balcescu called them. And historiography, in its turn, has comparable tasks. The interdependence of the value of historiography and the quality of revolutionary propaganda is too obvious to dwell upon here.

We have a fine corps of historians. If they are to perform in accordance with their number and ability, we need a consistent effort to publish the sources and a wide receptiveness to versatility in order to enrich the substance of history and accordingly comply with and fulfill one of the fundamental inclinations of the Romanian people and their culture, which it is so necessary to express and manifest in the times in which we are living. It is equally necessary to continue to make good use of the historical works which, through wide circulation in Romania and everywhere, will become common property and sources of information for all those who wish to know us directly.

These are a few thoughts I felt I should share in order to declare my full responsibility as well as my solidarity, on the occasion of the approaching National Party Conference, with my colleagues in the noble work of serving the higher interests of Romania of today and tomorrow and the socialist nation.

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## HANDLING OF LOAN TRANSACTIONS FAULTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1666, 5 Dec 82  
pp 12-13

Interview with Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the committee for the Monetary and Credit System of the Yugoslav Assembly's Council of Republics and Provinces, by Ljubodrag Cudomirovic; date and place not specified]

[Text] How is it possible that a citizen with a single late payment of 200-300 dinars, under force of law, must immediately repay the entire debt to the bank, while factories can owe the same bank for months, even years, without paying billions in long-overdue payments?

If a citizen writes a check on his account that is not covered, and spends money he does not have, then he will be criminally prosecuted. If as the director that same citizen builds a factory and uses a million times more credit without any real monetary security, he will be seen as a successful businessman.

Why is it that in the first instance they raise a real alarm in the banks and begin to look at the person as a criminal at the teller's window, while in the second instance, everything is in the best of shape?

Why is it that if the poor person gets arrested for counterfeiting dinars they put him in jail, while if in the name of his enterprise he buys goods with a letter of credit that is not backed by any actual goods transaction, he remains with clean hands? In general, where do we see the lack of financial discipline in citizens, and where the financial indiscipline of businessmen and banks? Is the monetary and credit policy in Yugoslavia really so limiting that it alone is guilty for moribund economic currents and the situation in which everyone owes everyone else and no one pays anybody? What are its real successes and failures?

### Relentless Discipline

We asked this and similar questions of Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the Monetary and Credit System Committee of the Council of Republics and Provinces of Yugoslavia, and until recently a member of the Federal Executive Council.

The first question related to the recent supplement to the Law on the Monetary System.

[Dr Gligorijevic] The person who proposed the law had as his point of departure the belief that discipline had become weak, so that it hardly existed, and that failure to pay obligations had become very widespread. Without a consistent, firm and relentless policy and practice in meeting obligations, the present difficult and unstable situation in economic trends cannot be overcome.

[Question] Where does the lack of financial discipline manifest itself?

[Answer] It is a matter of not paying debts, of placing credits without appropriate sources of credits. The commercial banks do not always carry out their obligations, and at times do not return credits to the national banks of republics and autonomous provinces, and the latter behave in a similar manner toward the Yugoslav National Bank. They provide permits for importing goods from the clearing trade zone, but they do not assign a corresponding dinar amount to the clearing account. They also fail at times to pay the exchange dinar value for foreign exchange acquisitions. In various ways they circumvent the limit criteria for credits and placement of commercial banks. In some cases with the "expert" help of the commercial banks, investment projects are made without providing necessary resources. Credits are approved in situations where the users do not have any credit capability. There have also been cases where dinar deposits have been established in banks on the basis of short-term credits from abroad, and then been used to place new credits. Frequently required reserves have been used in irregular ways. Recently, there have also been numerous cases where mutual crediting has been carried out using fictitious, uncovered commercial paper that has not been issued according to regulations.

Commercial paper can only be issued on the basis of actual goods transactions, and a fictitious bill of exchange is unthinkable. It is unacceptable for organizations of associated labor, with the aid of banks, to use commercial paper to "create" money. In the same way, commercial paper cannot be a substitute for income that is to be distributed. If that is done, demand capable of payment is created without being covered, and income is distributed and spent whose actual realization has not been socially verified. We must avoid difficult qualifications, but the question could be posed as to what the essential difference is between the issue of fictitious commercial paper and counterfeiting. In order somehow to bring order in this area, it would be necessary to reexamine all those substitutes for money that have been used to realize unreal total income amounts, or income for distribution.

#### Spending Other's Money

[Question] In a case of executing credit obligations and shorter or longer procrastination in the payment of credit debts, which really means to spend others' income, can't that affect the motives for operations, the rationality of operations and efforts for increasing production?



[Answer] Because of this frequently the economic criteria for operations are in second place, which results in a mighty expansion of consumption. Nothing and nobody can assure, enable and even stimulate consumption without coverage, such as can occur with an inconsistent, ineffective and irregular monetary and credit policy. In this way credit factors indirectly create consumption capable of payment without corresponding social production. Lack of financial discipline and use of uncovered credit are the same as usurping someone else's income. Such crediting has grown to enormous dimensions. With the aid of unpaid credits, it is possible to delay paying accounts for any sort of failure, to avoid responsibility, so that losses are not only tolerated but allowed to accumulate. Credits that are extended on the basis of dubious and nonexistent sources of credit potential can have the same effect. Every postponement in fulfilling credit obligations, be they of short or long term, objectively means the conversion of these credits into income, the usurping of credit resources either temporarily or permanently, or their consumption.

As far as interest rates are concerned, this question has long been asked here in Yugoslavia. Yet in a period of inflation, the problem of interest rates becomes more urgent, since the inflation rate markedly surpasses the level of the interest rate. It is not difficult to demonstrate that unrealistic interest rates, negative interest rates, result in uneconomic use of credit and the transfer of income in favor of the debtor. Also unsupportable is the situation where credits obtained abroad are used at a lower rate of interest than those calculated for foreign creditors.

#### Consistent Implementation of the Law

[Question] The anti-inflation program states that inflation is maintained by excessive printing of money and that it is essential to eliminate the part of demand that is financed by newly printed money.

[Answer] Regulation of relationships in this sphere of reproduction is neither simple or easy. It still has not been well enough determined what factors have a negative impact because of poor policies or the imperfections of the monetary and credit system, or because of human errors. Current actions can take two directions: Consistent implementation of existing policy and legal regulations, and perfection of the existing system, that is, building new elements of policy that still must bring positive results.

The general statement is that in Yugoslavia expansion of consumption is to be found without being covered. Unearned income is spent, there are investments without backing. The question is asked as to whether this consumption has legality, its means of payment. No great knowledge is needed to determine that credits that have been obtained but not repaid are one of the basic causes. With that in mind, the entire credit sphere should be the subject of investigation. It is necessary to reexamine as well the concept of an economic policy that ties the rate of monetary growth to the nominal growth in social product.

[Question] As we frequently hear, is the current monetary and credit policy to be regarded as restrictive?

[Answer] Everything can be proved and disproved. The restrictive credit policy emerges as a consequence of the very limited capacity of commercial banks to make operational use of their own credit potential when it is tied up in uncollectible and hard to collect debts. In a situation when credits from these sources rapidly and massively are being converted into income and used for consumption, the commercial banks are referred to credit resources that they can obtain from the National Bank, or to the savings of the populace, as well as to foreign credits. Demands are high and the resources limited, so that there is a permanent "attack" on the money issue of the National Bank. Thus it is branded restrictive, both when it is and when it is not. In the objective situation which, however, is now found in Yugoslavia, it is perfectly clear that a restrictive form is a more rational policy compared to any other one, since it is easier to go from restrictive measures to more moderate ones. The opposite is nearly impossible. Here I would add one other factor: Printing money is like an evil genie from a jug. You can let it out, but it will not go back in.

#### No Debts are Canceled

[Question] Could the situation that we are in be interpreted exclusively as "successful" or "unsuccessful" on the basis of the functioning of the monetary and credit system and policy?

[Answer] By itself the monetary and credit system can neither address or solve all problems. In my opinion, the monetary and credit policy is far more likely to worsen the situation by excessive printing of money beyond the point that a restrictive policy can correct. The functioning of this system must take into account one of its specific features. That is the fact that this system here in Yugoslavia is constructed of eight national banks of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces, and one Yugoslav National Bank. All these banks together function as a single entity, but they also have some independence. In that there is a contradiction between their operations as parts of a whole and their independent operations, which at times reaches a level of independence that places them under the strong influence of regional factors.

Expansion of consumption, rapid expansion of payable consumption, credit and money in circulation cannot always be reined in and stopped merely by restrictive measures of monetary and credit policy. Here a combination of various measures of economic policy are needed. In the anti-inflationary policy, the braking of demand must unavoidably undertake customs measures as well, as well as income taxes, excess income and rent taxes, takes on unjustly gained income through price increases, property taxes and other forms.

The worst solution that could be proposed would be debt cancellation. For future policy, for assigning value to economic operational criteria, that the basic principle must be that everyone must pay his own bills. We can talk of time periods and other conditions of payment of those accounts, but everyone must pay for what he has consumed. Naturally, all of this cannot take place without dislocations due to reducing consumption to which

we have become accustomed. New shocks as well will come. Yet if inflation up to now has been preserved by excessive consumption, the reduction of consumption must represent a manner of battle against inflation. This reduction should not be chaotic, but rather organized and according to plan. Thus, that will also mean a revision of both production and consumption.

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## PROBLEMS WITH LIBYAN STUDENTS AIRED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 82 pp 36-37

[Article by Zeljko Kruselj]

[Text] More than two months after the tragic Varazdin incident, the epilogue of the clash in which one youth lost his life is still unknown. In the mass fight between some 30 Libyan students and some 20 Varazdin youths, 20-year Rihard Rojnik, a student, was killed. The investigation is still under way, but many details are still not known to the public. The witnesses' statements frequently are completely contradictory, so that the big question is who besides two Libyans will be on the bench of the accused. This incident has provoked many questions as to whether what happened was a sign that something is amiss between foreign and Yugoslav pupils and students, as well as citizens. It brings forth memories of some other occurrences: The foreign exchange blackmail of greedy landlords, some physical reckonings and verbal provocations in public places, which were particularly exacerbated by bans on entry of foreigners to certain Zagreb disco-clubs, where the real identification was skin color. Yet in the Varazdin incident, it still seems that a tragic exception was involved.

The fight in the "VAM" disco-club has not destroyed the very broad educational cooperation between Yugoslavia and Libya, but it has opened up some complex questions. How capable are we of taking care of foreigners from a different cultural ambience and manner of thinking? Can the "human factor" and its petty misunderstandings cloud that which we have built with third world countries over a period of decades on the principle of nonalignment and active peaceful coexistence? That question is the more urgent for the fact that as a country, we have taken the role of coordinator of scientific and technological cooperation between unaligned nations, which leads to the development of their capability for more decisive stands toward the developed world. That is also an essential prerequisite for a more successful struggle for the building of a new international economic order.

## Accidental Guardians

The Varazdin story is also instructive in many ways, in uncovering our mistakes in our concern for foreign students, showing that it is better to retell the story and explain it here than to repeat the incident in some other town. Hence: Libya decided to build a 2,000 kilometer railroad, with all the auxiliary

infrastructure. It made an enormous investment that called for the coming of a large number of foreign specialists and the purchase of modern technology. Our country also became interested in providing part of the transaction, so that through the republic and provincial institutes for technical cooperation of Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia and Vojvodina, an agreement was made for training Libyan citizens in Yugoslavia for the needs of the Libyan railroad. The plan called for approximately 330 students per year, who would come after finishing 3 years of intermediate school in Libya. That was the equivalent of our first year of preparatory school, so the Libyans would stay in Yugoslavia for 3 and a half years: 6 months to study the language, a year of preparatory studies and 2 years of specialized education.

The republic institute, before choosing a place at which 50 future railroaders were to be educated, had numerous contacts with representatives of educational institutions and sociopolitical communities in Varazdin, Zagreb, Vinkovci, Slavonski Brod and Rijeka, seeking the best conditions for their training. The nod went to the offer of the Varazdin School Center for Training Personnel for Petroleum, Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Pursuits. It included a dormitory, and previous experience indicated that that sort of housing is the best for working with Libyan students. A coordinating committee for supervising those students was also established at the Varazdin City Assembly, which included representatives of sociopolitical organizations, the Secretariat of Internal Affairs, The School Center and the Institute; it was directed by the president of the Committee for Social Activities. The committee did not function very well, as seen from the fact that the tragic incident totally surprised it!

The Libyans arrived in March of 1982, and for the first few months the Institute hired as an interpreter for them an Arab student who was living in the student dormitory. This was in addition to their teachers. Since the dormitory did not satisfy all necessary hygienic standards, it was agreed that by 1 September the School Center would build and equip baths on the floors where the foreign students were living. Part of the money was given by the self-management interest community, and part came directly from the interested Libyan side. During those first months there was regular organized instruction in Croatian or Serbian, and other basic instruction, as well as several group excursions.

And then the problems began. Having established connections with their fellow countrymen in other Yugoslav cities, they learned that those people were living in hotels, where the possibility of supervision was much less. Against the will of the School Center, many of those in Varazdin decided to move to the hotel "Turist." Thus, in July the students consciously caused a small incident at the form, whose supposed cause was "dissatisfaction that the adaptation was not yet completed."

Learning what was in the works, the Institute speeded the adaptation, but at the end of July the students managed to surprise everyone by suddenly moving to the Turist. Only 3-4 Libyan students remained at the dorm. The Institute request that the hotel refuse them hospitality was not honored. The economic factor, however, finally turned the balance, for the Libyans

did not ask the cost of room and board. Both sides had reason for satisfaction, the first had more comfortable accommodations, while the second had assured earnings for 3 years! Seeing no alternative to recognizing the newly formed status quo, the Institute concluded an agreement with the Turist hotel.

#### Vain Warnings

Soon the consequences of neglected pedagogical work began to be felt. Tardiness increased, and school obligations were not fulfilled, so that in the first period 11 students failed the language examination. Nighttime "wanderings" around the local establishments also began.

The reason for their behavior is easy to find. Not only did the Libyan government pay for their entire hotel bill, their books and equipment, but in addition each student had fully 200 dollars in pocket money. Various blackmarketeers and other types of "dubious repute" buzzed around them, thus multiplying the problems.

Judging from data gathered so far, everything came to a head when a number of girls, mainly of high school age, fell in love with them. Something that is absolutely natural was met with extreme hostility. Specifically, a group of Varazdin youths (including students and unemployed persons) suddenly felt threatened in their city domain. They could no longer stand that foreigners were gallantly throwing money around and "stealing" their local girlfriends. They wanted to "save the honor" of the town. When the first skirmishes began is not known with any certainty, but it is perfectly clear that from day to day the situation became ever more tense. The day before the killing at the "VA-MA" club saw an incident in front of the hotel Turist, in which according to still officially unconfirmed reports, the Varazdin youths first annoyed the foreign students, and in the fight that followed one of the Libyans came out the worst. As far as is known the militia did not intervene at that time.

After that occurrence the Libyans, seeking protection, turned to their teachers and the hotel director, who immediately informed the Institute. From there the Secretariat for Internal Affairs was officially informed of the incident. Thus, on the morning of 8 August 1982; it was known officially that only a small spark was enough to bring a major fight! Until that critical day, according to the teachers, the Libyans were not armed, but it seems that because of a feeling of insecurity, they sought to protect themselves in some manner. By chance or design, at the VA-MA there were fully 30 Libyans and the previously mentioned 20 Varazdin youths. It doesn't matter at all whether the immediate cause of the fight was an empty chair or a clash at the door. The local youths grabbed chairs, while at least two Libyans grabbed knives. The general melee spread from the main hall onto the terrace, then chairs and other equipment began to fall from the third floor to the street. A neighboring night watchman immediately saw that something major was happening, and he called the militia. When the police arrived on the scene, the severely wounded Rihard Rojnik was already lying on the floor. Of two knife wounds, the second one was fatal. On the way to the hospital, the youth lost so much blood that he died. Among officially confirmed wounds, reports investigating judge Zeljko Pilipovic, a young Libyan had a skull fracture, probably

resulting from being hit by a chair. Besides that, one militiaman had a cut finger, and another sprained his ankle. Right after the fight eight Libyan students and four local youths were jailed. After an interrogation most were released, but the authorities were later to institute legal proceedings because of their involvement in the bloody fight. Two Libyans remained in the investigative jail: Mohamed Fathi Gelu and Abdulrazak Slig, who are suspected of committing the killing in the fight.

#### Official Sympathy

The foreign students spent the night under police protection. In the morning began a massive gathering of citizens in front of the hotel, and part of the previous day's protectors of the city's "honor" held meetings, with one youth showing a falsely bandaged hand from a supposed wound. The coordination council met quickly and concluded that for the security of the foreign students, they should be transferred to a more peaceful place. They selected the hotel "Kaj" in Marija Bistrica. The next day, Mr. Abulgasen, a member of the National Committee responsible for consular matters of the Libyan National Bureau, and Mr. Marwan, representative of the Libyan Administration for Highway and Rail Transportation, arrived in Varazdin, where they were acquainted with the details of the tragedy. They soon had an opportunity to converse with their students. They made no criticism of the investigation procedure. The Libyan consul, through the Institute, expressed his sympathy to the family of the slain youth. The degree to which the entire incident upset the Libyan public is demonstrated by the fact that the president of the Libyan League of Students immediately came from Tripoli to Belgrade, expressing his "regret and hope that the incident would not affect overall relations."

After several days the students were transferred from Marija Bistrica to the hotel "Borje" in Plitvice, and from there at the end of December to Zagreb. Now they are attending the Railroad Training Center, which despite its overcrowding agreed to accept them and carry their schooling to its normal completion. As we were told by Juraj Barbaric, director of the preparatory level, the Center hired five new professors in order to let the most experienced devote their time to the young Libyans, who still have problems with Serbo-Croatian. Pedagogical work has been intensified again. It is also important to mention that representatives of the Libyan Government are in full agreement with the education regimen, asking equal rights but also equal obligations for their students. As far as we have been informed, at the request of the Institute the students will no longer receive their money in foreign exchange currency.

Since the causes for the Varazdin incident could be traced to both sides involved in the quarrel, it is clear that something of the sort had to happen eventually. Now, unfortunately, the only thing remaining is to draw a lesson from the incident.

As explained by Marin Gerskovic, director of the Republic Institute for Technical Cooperation, "This case is not specifically related to the behavior of foreigners, but we can readily explain it by similar occurrences, and not just here in Yugoslavia. It is a typical manner of behavior and reactions

in coherent groups that are isolated in their environment, as well as a collective manner of thinking. If you insult one of them, you insult them all. If you hit one, the group will return the blow! It is interesting that along with this incident in the newspapers, we were able to read about the conviction of a number of workers in Bosnia and of students in Kosovo, who were also accused of participating in mass fights with fatal results. In those cases as well it was a matter of isolated, coherent environments. The reason for this being so is another problem, connected to social and ethnic features of those groups. A common feature is that they were separated from their families for rather long periods, so that by that alonethey tend to react in a more nervous way and to preserve their group integrity more firmly.

Close relationships between the Libyans and some local girls in a small ambience such as Varazdin overflowed the cup of tolerance, at which the self-proclaimed city "defenders" were ready.

#### Tolerance is Needed

When we speak of delicate situations involving the Libyan students, we must necessarily mention that in two previous incidents they came out on the short end. Several years ago it was a big fight in Zadar, while last year in Sarajevo, a Libyan student of an academy was killed. In Krusevac, a group like the one in Varazdin attempted to misbehave, but the militia very resolutely prevented disorders several times.

The only conclusion that can safely be drawn from this about the future relations between foreign students and our Yugoslav citizens is that a higher degree of tolerance must be developed on both sides in the temporary clashes of cultures and mentalities.

In the developed world it is clear today that training of personnel is the prime prerequisite for creating profitable business with developing countries.

The first efforts at commercial cooperation are already showing fruits. We will mention just a few examples. Leadership cadres formed at the School for Maritime and Transportation Studies in Rijeka have inspired the founding of a joint maritime company, the "Sudan Shipping Line," which at the "3. Maj" shipyards has already built 5-6 ships. The enterprises "Hidroelektra" and "Mont-montaza" are giving stipends to Algerian students.

We dare not forget that Yugoslav technical cooperation with developing countries is being developed under circumstances of very intense international competition. The official bulletin (ZLUZBENI BILTEN) of the Croatian Institute for Technical Cooperation notes that the highly developed countries are investing large sums in such endeavors, which enables them to place their specialists at the disposal of these countries with very favorable terms, at times free of charge, or with large supplemental pay in addition to the salaries they receive in developing countries. They often provide favorable credit terms or independently build various training centers and institutions. At the same time, the socialist countries are exerting great efforts to ensure ever broader presence of their specialists in those countries. Although it sounds cynical, it could be said that block rivalries are reflected precisely in the involvement, or presence, or appropriate specialists.



CONSEQUENCES OF EXPECTED DROP IN LIVING STANDARD NOTED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 82 p 9

[Article by Ljiljana Zorkic]

[Text] In a year when real income is to decrease by 7.5 percent according to the plan, effective measures of social security will be necessary. The rapid increase in food prices seriously threatens the living standard of the working and city populations with the lowest income. Is it justified for a cleaning woman to earn more than an engineer?

The eternal story goes that while someone eats meat, another person eats cabbage and when they all go through the statistical machinery the average person is eating stuffed cabbage. The tale is relevant particularly these days when the delegate assemblies are discussing our manner of working and living in 1983.

We know that it will be difficult for us, for a reduction of consumption is unavoidable, spending that which we have not earned will be nearly impossible, so that for the first time in the last four decades the plan projects that real personal income will decline by 7.5 percent. This will be one of the rare years when the Resolution for 1983 will not prescribe even a nominal increase in prices or living expenses.

No matter how difficult it may be, we are prepared to say that we will survive it. Yet it seems to us that it would be very appropriate to take a timely look at whether it will be equally difficult for everyone. Or to state the already worn question, will the burden of stabilization fall equally upon everyone?

With the generous assistance of analysts of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Security, we will attempt, not to answer that question, but to show how things have gone previously.

## Misleading Processes

Last year, the oil and gas production worker (during a year of stabilization, when average real personal income of Yugoslavs declined by 5 percent) was able to set aside 8,100 dinars for mutual consumption, the same amount as the entire monthly average earnings of a worker producing ready-to-wear textile products. The textile workers had only enough economic strength to set aside a bare 1,907 dinars for hot meals, compensation to others and transportation. Every employed Yugoslav last year on the average had, along with his pay, some 2,267 dinars monthly going into the mutual consumption fund, which in real terms was lower by 14 percent than in 1980.

This divergence continues independent of work performance. For example, the oil workers in 8 months reached the level of 16,921 dinars of personal income per worker (17,249 dinars in Croatia), according to official data of the Federal Statistical Office. More precisely, the average personal income for workers in mills and textile jobs was 10,432, while in the production of ready-to-wear clothing it was 9,569 dinars.

The differences are obvious, yet they are even greater when we consider that they have not occurred because of equal measurements of labor productivity; rather the oil workers have achieved their income growth in the first 9 months of this year chiefly because of price increases. According to data of the Federal Price Office, the role of prices in the realized increase in income was 48.7 percent. Naturally, such an increase in income made it possible for the personal incomes to rise in accord.

And the textile workers? The producers of textile yarns and fabrics also saw a 28 percent share of price increases in the growth of personal income.

In addition, the oil producers are importers, while the textile workers are struggling toward the top of exporters....

We do not intend to stir up a fight between the textile workers and the oil workers, nor to bring out the battle axes. Rather, we want to begin a dialogue concerning existing differences and unequal conditions that will survive the anticipated decline in the living standard in 1983.

## Every Fifth Worker Earns Less Than 8,000 Dinars

According to the latest official figures of the Federal Statistical Office for March 1982 1,200,000 workers, received less than 8,000 dinars per month. That means that every fifth worker has a pronounced low income. The largest number of employees, about 55 percent, or more than 3 million workers, earn salaries ranging between 8,000 and 14,000 dinars.

Only 6 percent of the total number of workers, or 350,000 employees in Yugoslavia received personal incomes of more than 20,000 dinars.

## It Is Most Difficult for Workers and City Families

When we return to that question, we learn that those in the most difficult position are the workers and other city households who live primarily on regular wages (personal income, pensions and social security aid). Incomes are rising most rapidly in agricultural households, followed by mixed income families, while the most difficulty is faced by city working families that live on wages, states Nevenka Jankovic, deputy chairman of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Security. It is not bad that incomes in agricultural are not (sic) growing, but we did not want the burden of stabilization to be paid by the working class and the city population.

The average monthly income of working families declined by 23 percent in real terms during 1981. No data are available for the first 9 months of 1982, but it is quite certain that this trend continued, while the relationships became more extreme. For example, from January to November food prices increased by 38 percent over the same period of the preceding year. Compared to December 1981, by November of 1982 food costs held a 53 percent share of the total increase in living costs (it was anticipated that this rate would not exceed 41 percent).

The unequal manner in which the burden of economic stabilization is borne (paid for) is further illustrated by the statistic that in 1981 the ratio of households with the lowest as opposed to the highest personal income was 1:5, as well as the fact that a four-person working family with the lowest income level had only one wage earner. Thus it is most difficult for those who have one income to support a number of family members.

Vanja Knezevic and Vesna Vulic, analysts of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Security, calculated that because of increased food costs, a four-person working family in the January-August period needed to spend an additional 4,100 dinars just for food, 2,100 dinars more (sic) for the same volume and structure of consumption as enjoyed during the corresponding period of the previous year. We also know that these figures have continued to increase until the present time, for retail prices from August to October grew by 6 percent, and living costs by 5.1 percent.

To all this we can add that during this period personal income was brought into harmony with profits and that their increase was slowed (in the economy the growth rate for 9 months was brought to 28.7 percent, while real personal income was reduced by 1.9 percent; in non-economic pursuits nominal increases amounted to 17.8 percent, while real personal income fell by 2.6 percent. Thus, we know that working families could not provide supplemental resources from their wages to cover increases in living costs.

# Structure of Income Expenditures of a Four-Person Working Family

	1975	1977	1980	1981
1	2	3	4	5
Total Use of Resources	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal Consumption Expenses	77.82	75.73	75.48	76.94
Food	30.86	29.99	30.17	31.71
Beverages and Tobacco	4.62	4.37	3.98	4.26
Clothing and Shoes	9.15	8.46	8.16	8.00
Housing	3.83	3.86	3.43	3.81
Health Care and Hygiene	2.88	2.67	2.69	2.59
Education, Culture and Entertainment	5.29	5.23	5.09	4.78
Transportation, Postal, Telephone, etc.	8.57	7.39	7.75	7.99
Other expenditures	4.12	4.42	5.46	5.17
Payments on Credits and Loans	10.02	11.42	11.51	9.86
Housing Repairs	1.96	1.48	2.26	1.96
Savings	10.19	11.36	10.73	11.23

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia for 1982, Federal Statistical Office

## Balancing and Differentials

Yet when we talk of personal income and wages from labor, any generalization is harmful, for it can be deceiving and leave us without a true picture, thus making it impossible to make at least an approximate estimate about the balanced distribution of the burden for economic stabilization.

As Nevenka Jankovic explains: "Typically there are unjustifiably rapid increases in personal income and differences between branches and groups and labor organizations, along with a demoralizing balancing within individual organizations of associated labor. The data at our disposal show that in practice, two principles are at work: To assign value to the results of labor and to avoid pouring funds gained by exceptionally favorable market conditions, most often price increases, into personal income. Thus, we must return to the measures and criteria of rewards according to labor accomplished, as well as the demand that the results of labor and the labor contribution be measured outside of direct production as well. As the first step, we should establish methodology for calculating excess income."

There are several other figures that illustrate the existing divergence between the material and social positions of working people, most frequently independent of the results of labor, which can certainly have social and sociopolitical consequences.

For example, in a small number of labor organizations, where the lowest personal incomes were a little above 6,500 dinars per month, the differential between the lowest and the highest wages was 1:9 and more!

The Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Security considers a major question to be whether personal income above 60,000 dinars are the consequences of labor performance. In the same manner, it should be noted that it is socially and economically unjustified for there to be differentials of 1:20 in the personal incomes of workers in the same or very similar occupations, who are employed in different labor organizations. We should certainly suspect the economic and social justice of high personal income (such as that of a typist or cleaning woman in an organization of a branch with a favored position), which are equal or higher than the personal income of an engineer or a professor in another organization.

**The Purchasing Power of a Daily Wage for an Average Personal Income (retail prices, July 1982)**

	Lowest Price per Kg	Highest Price pr Kg
Potatoes	39.5 kg in Novi Sad	15.5 kg in Titograd
Beans	4.9 kg in Zagreb	2.8 kg in Novi Sad
Tomatoes	14.4 kg in Skopje	11.8 kg in Zagreb
Peaches	13.9 kg in Skopje	9.8 kg in Ljubljana
Apples	14.4 kg in Skopje	10.2 kg in Ljubljana
Black Bread	42.2 kg in Ljubljana	25.2 kg in Belgrade
Yearling Beef with Bones*	2.7 kg in Pristina	2.2 kg in Belgrade

Source: Index of the Federal Statistical Office, No 6, 1982

\*Meat prices are equalized, except in Prstina, where they are lower for all types of meat with bones.

Note: The indicated amounts show how much can be purchased in each city, given price variations. Only the highest and lowest prices were taken into consideration.

## Price Blows Are Hard To Avoid

The blows of high prices, inflation and living costs, it should be said, are felt more painfully by many workers in public employment activities, particularly in education, as well as by pensioners, whose income has lagged badly in the past 2 years. Thus, compared to the conventionally defined unqualified workers, when everything is reduced to measurable indices, educational and cultural workers are in last place by personal income among 17 occupations in the economic and non-economic sectors.

What will happen by year's end, who will pay the largest share?

According to data on 9-month operations of the economy, growth in personal income and mutual consumption together were greater by another 3.2 percent over the growth in profit, while personal incomes alone increased by 5.6 percent more than the increase in profits. In non-economic occupations, personal income and mutual consumption together were 3.6 percent more than the growth in profits.

It can be anticipated that this year will end with a 28 percent increase in profits, and that overall personal income will increase by 30-31 percent. This divergence will be unavoidable, for some labor organizations are already being exempted from the obligation to reduce personal income into harmony with profits, since it is considered that such exemptions are objectively essential. It should be expected, however, that such exemptions will be moderate, for in the opposite case, we will threaten the principle of rewards according to labor results even more. According to data for 9 months, the loss rate growth in the economy is at 40.3 percent, while the average personal income in those labor organizations is below the average personal income for the entire economy by only 7.6 percent (average personal income at enterprises showing losses is 11,106 dinars). In social service occupations the losses have grown by 63 percent, while the average personal income has reached 12,683 dinars. Naturally, this average was not forced out of the personal incomes of educational and cultural workers.

## Currently Labor Provides the Least Benefits

From all these facts it is clear that it is difficult to predict the amount of decline in personal incomes and the living standard for 1982. It cannot be expected that the rate will be lower than 3-4 percent.

Although the difficulties are great and we can no longer divide up things that have not been earned, nor according to the language of the Resolution, plan the distribution of planned (but not realized) income, but only that of actually earned income, a drastic decline in the living standard of working people and citizens, especially those who live on their wages, can accelerate the loss of motivation for striving for better labor results and can undermine the bases of economic stabilization itself.

As Nevenka Jankovic states: "Since a decline in the standard of living is unavoidable, we must seek measures of social protection for the citizens with the lowest incomes. We must not run from that responsibility. That presently is a question of the current social policy of entities from the basic organization of associated labor to the opstina, then on to the republic or province level. Some will be helped by one-time monetary aid, some places special compensation of beneficiary expenses will be provided, and some places the solution will be effective concern for the standards of children and students.

Nevenka Jankovic considers that it is very important as quickly as possible to answer the question as to how, under disturbed conditions, to handle resources for vital functions, especially among social activities, so as not to harm them. For example, more rational consumption presupposes the closing of some schools and academic departments, as well as savings in health care by less use of medications through such approaches as preparation in smaller packages of tablets, capsules and ampules.

Over the long run, however, all the divergences that have been mentioned in personal consumption and the unwanted trends can be avoided if in direct production as well as elsewhere, we return to the principle of rewards based on the results of labor, and to economic principles that give appropriate value to creative and inventive work throughout the society.

The motivation for work is weakening and the basic constitutional principle of living off one's labor is being degraded. There is an increased orientation toward realization of income outside of labor, because the proper value is not being given to work. It is undervalued precisely in an economic sense, while it should be an essential component of the development policy under the conditions of implementing economic stabilization, according to Jankovic. She also warned that it is dangerous to take an oversimplified view merely of personal income from labor and on that basis to make conclusions and decide upon measures within the framework of social policy. All eyes are focussed on the growth of personal income, and the statistics faithfully monitor their rising profile, while ignoring other forms by which citizens acquire resources that burgeon under inflationary conditions and irregular operational relationships. It is obvious that the delegates in the assembly, during the discussions that will take place before the new year, will have to devote more attention to concrete measures that will contribute to a more equal division of the anticipated fall in the living standard before they write the final versions of the resolution that will set the policies for 1983. In that way there will be fewer people whose existence will be threatened.

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